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Ryzkhov Greets Moscow Naval Seminar

LD0602112490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1032 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 6 Feb (TASS)—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has sent greetings to participants in an international seminar on problems of limiting the naval arms race and reducing naval military activity on the oceans of the world which opened in Moscow today. The message says:

May I cordially greet the participants in the seminar.

There is today a real need for serious discussion of naval forces. The Soviet Union, like other countries, is concerned that military might, including nuclear might, is growing on the world's oceans. Naval forces are used to interfere in the affairs of other states. There is no reduction in the number of large scale exercises which are sometimes difficult to distinguish from real military preparations. Naval forces, which today already play an important role in the overall military balance, are becoming still weightier as a result of the reduction of other types of armed forces.

Therefore the Soviet Union calls on all interested states, and primarily major naval powers, to get together for talks as soon as possible in order to halt the naval arms race, restrict military activity at sea, elaborate and introduce confidence building measures in this area, and make naval forces defensive in orientation. If these problems are not resolved, then there simply will be no transition to non-offensive defense, no strengthening of trust, and no overcoming of military confrontation.

Businesslike and constructive discussion of these important problems at your seminar and the suggestion of practical proposals will help to develop broad international dialogue aimed at stopping the naval arms race, and will draw political, state, and public figures as well as scientists into the process.

I wish you successful work for the good of peace and security for all states and peoples.

Military Doctrines Talks End in Vienna

LD0502193590 Moscow TASS in English 1905 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Vienna February 5 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Vladimir Smelov:

For three weeks the Austrian capital was witness to an unprecedented development in East-West relations: a seminar on military doctrines. The seminar, which ended here today, was attended by the top military leaders of the European countries as well as the United States and Canada, who met for the first time in history around one table to discuss national military doctrines, a broad range of issues related to the use of conventional and nuclear weapons, and military spending.

The first stage of the forum, held at the initiative of the Warsaw Treaty and within the framework of the Vienna talks on confidence building and security measures in Europe, was held at the level of chiefs of general staffs.

The Soviet delegation, led by chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces Mikhail Moiseyev, strove to demonstrate that perestroyka had been fully extended to the military field. The Soviet military doctrine has been radically revised politically, militarily, and technically. So work is in progress to develop the armed forces on principles of defence sufficiency.

The conversations contributed to better mutual understanding and a further departure from old dogmas and stereotypes in military matters. The seminar demonstrated that not only political but also military relations between East and West are entering a new stage, observers concluded. Fear and enmity, which were dominant trends for decades, are giving way to dialogue, although, naturally, there are still many contentious issues and not all the concerns have been met.

General Nikolay Chervov from the Soviet delegation said in his final statement that the Soviet participants were leaving the Vienna seminar with the hope that it would enhance stability and security on the continent and globally, that its results would not only influence the further evolution of defensive military doctrines but also create a favourable climate for the successful pursuit of the Vienna talks and greater trust during the whole of the disarmament process.

"We welcome," Chervov said, "statements made by United States officials at the highest level about the readiness to take our relations beyond the scope of containment. In these we see the intention to put an end to the cold war through concerted efforts and to enter a period of peace to make it stable and lasting."

Moscow Urges Reduction of U.S. Forces in Asia

OW2801225090 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Jan 90

[(Malienchinov) commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, the Soviet Union has decided to reduce its military presence in Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam. U.S. military circles are satisfied with this decision. Our station commentator, (Malienchinov), comments on the decision:

I will first discuss the background of this event. The Soviet Union and Vietnam announced last week that the Soviet Union had started to reduce its military strength in Cam Ranh Bay. As everyone knows, the Soviet Union deployed aircraft and warships there several years ago after reaching an agreement with Vietnam, a nation friendly to the Soviet Union. The Soviet deployment at that time was the result of the U.S. military expansion in the Asian-Pacific region and the increased activities by U.S. troops in the Philippines. In other words, the Soviet action at that time was necessary because Vietnam's security was evidently threatened. At Vietnam's request, the Soviet Union began to use the former U.S. naval and air bases in Cam Ranh Bay as a material and technological supply depot for air and sea operations by Soviet Armed Forces in the Far East. With the beginning of Soviet air and sea operations in the region, a balance of power was achieved. However, it was regrettable that military confrontation escalated a little as a result.

In his speech at Krasnoyarsk in the fall of 1988, Gorbachev proposed that the U.S. withdraw its forces from the Philippines while the Soviet Union would withdraw it forces from Cam Ranh Bay. Washington did not respond to the proposal at that time. Perhaps the world situation at that time still did not permit any step toward military detente.

However, the world's climate has begun to change. Sino-Soviet relations have taken a turn for the better. The Soviet Union and the United States are actively engaged in dialogue. A trend of normalization in Sino-Vietnamese relations has emerged. These factors are playing a role in bringing about another kind of response from Washington.

As promised, the Soviet Union began to withdraw its MIG-23 interceptors and TU-16 bombers from Cam Ranh Bay at the end of last year. There are now only 10 aircraft left at the Cam Ranh Bay air base. U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney said that Washington would discuss a corresponding action with Tokyo in the near future. He emphasized that a reduction in U.S. forces in the Far East is entirely possible. He said that the action taken by the Soviet Union and Vietnam is conducive to ensuring the stability of the region and is worthy of praise.

Of course, it is necessary to see what concrete steps Washington will take. As everyone knows, Washington welcomes many of the Soviet Union's proposals, but it has not taken any corresponding actions. In this way it has undermined world stability and jeopardized good prospects.

While Gorbachev, in his speech in Moscow, urged the United States to join the Soviet Union in ending all nuclear tests, Washington suspended the talks on nuclear tests for various reasons. However, I still believe that there will be some progress this time. Both the United States and its allies in the Far East have responded positively to the action taken by the Soviet Union and Vietnam. South Korea, the Philippines, and Japan have praised the reduction of Soviet militry strength in Cam Ranh Bay.

Japan's MAINICHI SHIMBUN said: "The action taken by the Soviet Union over Cam Ranh Bay completely conforms to Japan's interests and security."

NATO's FRG Role 'Chimes' With USSR View

PM0502100790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 90 Second Edition p 6

[Dispatch by correspondent V. Peresada: "Preparing the Next Phase. G. Bush's Proposal"]

[Text] Brussels, 3 Feb—U.S. President G. Bush's "amendment" to his own proposal—namely, that the level of U.S. and Soviet troop numbers in Central Europe be set not at 275,000, as he had proposed earlier, but at 195,000 for each side—has prompted lively comment in Brussels.

After consultations were held in NATO Headquarters here and "broad agreement in principle" with the proposal had been declared, LA LIBRE BELGIQUE wrote, it is clear that the Atlantic allies will advocate its discussion at the Vienna talks.

At the same time, the press is noting that the U.S. President envisages keeping at least 30,000 U.S. servicemen in Britain, Italy, Greece, and Turkey. As a result, the newspaper LE SOIR wrote, total U.S. troop numbers in Europe will stand at 225,000, whereas Soviet troops will total 195,000—which cannot fail to trigger objections from the USSR.

A curious statement was made by Guy Coeme, Belgian minister of national defense. Calling the Bush proposal interesting and—in purely military terms, if the real situation on the continent is taken into account—inevitable, he said: "It should now be time for Europeans to realize the need to 'Europeanize' the final phase of the Vienna talks, where currently only cuts in Soviet and U.S. armed forces are being discussed.... A forum ought to be organized to prepare for talks on problems associated with the presence of allied troops in the FRG." Observers are noting that this way of putting things chimes with the position of the USSR, which advocates the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed outside their national territories.

President Bush Voices 'Interesting' Ideas

LD0502215890 Moscow TASS in English 2138 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Washington February 5 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash reports:

U.S. President George Bush urged a continuation and broadening of bilateral and international cooperation in the field of environmental protection, including the problem of global changes of the environment and climate.

Addressing today the opening of an inter-governmental U.N. group on the global warming up of the climate, the head of the U.S. Administration stressed that during the Soviet-American summit off the coast of Malta last December he received assurances of the Soviet Union about its desire to support the efforts of the world community of nations in broadening cooperation in the field of ecology.

The U.S. President put forward a number of interesting ideas of the American side, especially one on a comprehensive approach to changes in the biosphere. The forum participants stated their support for concerted Soviet-American efforts with a view to an early elaboration of an international programme for the salvation of the biosphere and restoration of its vital forces.

The forum is being attended by representatives of many countries of the world, includig the Soviet delegation.

PRC Delegation Attends Environment Meeting

OW0402224790 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Report by special reporter (Galibov) from the "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Text] A very large delegation from China—whose members are political and religious activists, scientists, and other experts—took part in a global conference on environmental protection and development which concluded recently in Moscow. Our special reporter (Galibov) reports:

Members of the Chinese delegation included members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress [NPC], and theorists, scientists, and teachers of various universities in China. Together with their colleagues from other countries, they discussed the world's pressing ecological problems. The reports made by some of the Chinese experts drew much attention in the plenary session. These included reports by Professor (Duan Ning) on the efforts and results made by the various Chinese cities in dealing with their ecological problems; by Professor (Xue Xide) on the way for humans to attain harmony with nature; and by Professor (Ding Guanxun) of Fudan University on the need to educate the younger generation to adopt an attitude of cherishing nature and its rich treasure. In the plenary sessions and panel discussions, and in their conversations and meetings with Soviet and foreign reporters, the delegates from China emphatically pointed out the importance and pressing need of cooperation with their foreign colleagues, including those in the Soviet Union.

The following is an interview given to this station by Liu Dongsheng, member of the Education, Science, Culture, and Public Health Committee of the NPC Standing Committee:

[Begin Liu recording] China and the Soviet Union are the two largest countries in Europe and Asia. Many of our localities are neighbors. Although we are not completely identical to each other in all respects, we are nevertheless very close to each other. There are many environmental problems which we can solve with joint efforts which will make great contributions to the whole world. For instance, we can concentrate on the area of atmospherics and the study of topology and ecology. In the past, the Chinese Academy of Sciences and many other units have made many contacts with their counterparts in the Soviet Union. As far as I know, the institutes under the Chinese Academy of Sciences and Soviet institutes are discussing with each other the implementation of some joint research projects. By working together in this way, we can get better results in settling these problems. This will also provide us an opportunity to learn from each other and enable us to make even better contributions to improving the global environment. This is also the common wish of the scientists, political leaders, and peoples of our two countries. [end recording]

Normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China has opened a new page in the history of our relations. What new contents do you think the scientists can add to these relations? In response to this question, Professor Liu Dongsheng said:

[Begin Liu recording] Speaking as a scientist, I feel that contacts between the scientists of our two countries are a very important way to promote further development of contacts and mutual understanding between the two sides. I think scientists of our two countries should make efforts to establish still closer contacts and find problems of common interest so that we can solve them. This will be conducive to promoting exchanges between China and the Soviet Union in the future, particularly in the area of the environment. [end recording]

Reportage on Upcoming 'Open Skies' Conference

Discussion of Agenda

LD0202215790 Moscow TASS in English 1914 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest February 2 TASS—A preparatory meeting of experts of the open skies initiative came to a close here today. It was attended by representatives of 23 member countries of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO.

Under the initiative, East and West European countries, as well as North American countries, should open their air space for each other voluntarily and on the basis of reciprocity for the purpose of exercising arms control.

The meeting discussed the agenda of the forthcoming talks on this initiative. It was decided that the talks would be held in two stages—in Ottawa on February 12-28, and in Budapest late in April.

Shevardnadze Interviewed

LD0302111590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0915 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to THE TORONTO STAR in Moscow on 3 February]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Feb (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardandze gave an interview today to the Canadian newspaper THE TORONTO STAR in connection with his upcoming trip to Canada this February to take part in the international "Open Skies" conference. The full text of the interview follows below:

[TORONTO STAR] In the near future, you will arrive in Ottawa to discuss an "open skies" agreement. Why has the Soviet Union taken the decision to participate in the conference, bearing in mind the intensive schedule of East-West talks on disarmament issues this year and for the nineties?

[Shevardnadze] As you probably know, the Soviet Union was one of the first to support U.S. President G. Bush's initiative on devising an "open skies" regime. Despite the "disarmament calendar," which certainly is overloaded, and bearing in mind the importance and topicality of this question, we have accepted the Canadian Government's invitation to attend the international conference in Ottawa.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the fact that the realization of the "open skies" regime would mark a large-scale measure in strengthening confidence and would promote greater predictability of actions of states in the military sphere.

Moreover, agreement on an "open skies" regime would be a major step in the direction of realizing the ideas of openness of military activity in other spheres, too, and could become part of a future global system of strengthening confidence, reducing military danger, and averting the outbreak of war. When U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and myself had talks in Wyoming last September, we expressed the idea of the desireability and the necessity of applying openess not only to the skies but also to the land, seas and oceans, and space.

[TORONTO STAR] At the end of the visit of Prime Minister B. Mulroney to Moscow in November 1989, the Soviet press published your statement that Soviet submarines do not enter the waters of the Canadian Arctic. Insofar as this evoked a certain amount of confusion in Canada, could you please tell me whether such entries took place previously, and also relate what other specific steps the Soviet Union is taking to further the idea of a "zone of peace" in the Arctic?

[Shevardnadze] With the purpose of strengthening the confidence between our countries and in response to the corresponding questions of the Canadian public, we made a statement that Soviet submarines are not entering the waters of the Canadian archipelago. I do not know whether such entries took place in the past.

As for the USSR's specific steps to promote the idea of turning the Arctic into a zone of peace, I can say the following:

The Soviet Union has made a proposal to all the states concerned to start talks on limiting and reducing the scale of military activity in the north as a whole—both in the Eastern and in the Western Hemisphere. We have put forward a series of specific proposals to lower the level of naval confrontation in the north, which include, in particular, confidence-building measures in the sphere of naval forces and the limitation of the areas and intensity of naval activity.

We are also taking unilateral steps to limit armaments in the region. Thus, within the framework of unilateral reductions in the USSR Armed Forces, the number of troops of the Leningrad Military District and of the forces of the Northern Fleet will be reduced by approximately 20,000 men by the end of 1990. By the way, in the past few years several tens of combat elements [yedinitsa], including large surface vessels and combat aircraft, have already been withdrawn from the Northern Fleet. By now there are no longer any Soviet medium- and shorter-range missiles left on alert duty in areas adjacent to the north of Europe. The conclusion of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in the strategic offfensive armaments of the USSR and the United States will lead to a radical reduction in these armaments in the Arctic, as it is here that a considerable proportion of our sea-based strategic nuclear weapons is stationed.

We vigorously support the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe and have repeatedly stated our readiness to act as its guarantor and take substantial measures as applied to Soviet territory, adjacent to the future zone. As a unilateral step, the USSR has started eliminating certain categories of nuclear weapons in the Baltic Sea. We are also ready to come to an agreement about a nuclear-free status for the Baltic.

Unfortunately, our proposals to lower the level of military confrontation in the Arctic have, for the time being, not met with a positive response among our partners. We hope that this is not NATO's last word. The need to strengthen military-political stability in the Arctic is dictated by the logic of development itself and by the interests of all states—those near the Arctic and other ones.

[TORONTO STAR] The Soviet side's political statements on the creation of a "common European home" often contain assurances that U.S. and Canadian participation in it will be welcome. In your opinion should there by any change in Canada's present role in European defense and economic organizations to make the idea of such a home realizable?

[Shevardnadze] I would not be so bold as to prescribe to any sovereign country what role it should play in any organization.

One would think that progress toward a common European home requires from individual states and international organizations , first and foremost, openness and readiness to enter into dialogue and establishing and developing multilevel contacts and links. This is because the idea of a common European home implies overcoming military confrontation, the creation of a single economic, legal and information space, and the free mutual enrichment of the peoples.

Of course, Canada with its not so little political weight, democratic traditions, rich culture, and solid economic potential is called upon to play a prominent role in the unfurling processes of drawing together.

For us Canada is, apart from anything else, also a northern neighbor. We regard your country as one of the "foremen" in the construction of a firm "Arctic roof" for a peaceful common European home.

[TORONTO STAR] Taking into consideration the dramatic changes which took place in East Europe last autumn, including the departure in many countries of the leading role of the communist party, what will the Warsaw Pact look like in the nineties and will the role of the Soviet Union in this alliance change?

[Shevardnadze] The Warsaw Pact entered the nineties in a process of evolution which began long before the events of last year which you mentioned. It began under the influence of the new thinking and of the overcoming of confrontational approaches in foreign policy. The main content of the evolution is the transformation of the Warsaw Pact from a military-political into a political-military alliance, which is called upon not only to defend the national interests of its members and to maintain stability on the European Continent, but also to make a significant contribution to the further recovery of the international situation and to bring about progress in the cause of disarmament.

I would like to remind you that it was the Warsaw Pact which initiated talks on reduction of armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals, proclaimed the defensive nature of military doctrine, and is conducting major unilateral reductions in arms and armed forces and the restructuring of them in accordance with a defensive doctrine.

The development of direct political contacts between the Warsaw Pact and NATO could prove fruitful in this context. I had this conviction confirmed during my recent visit to the NATO headquarters in Brussels where I had a conversation with M. Woerner, and also with the representatives at NATO of the member-countries of that organization.

As regards the role of the USSR in the Warsaw Pact, we have consciously rejected any attempts to impose our views on our partners or to exert any pressure on them. A renewed Warsaw Pact should, in our opinion, be distinguished first and foremost by genuine equality and mutual respect, and by concern for the historical destinies of the peoples of our countries and of all Europe.

[TORONTO STAR] In recent times, a number of leading Israeli political figures have visited Moscow. Recently you met E. Weizman, Israeli minister of science and technology. At approximately the same time, the status of the PLO mission in Moscow was upgraded to an embassy. Is the restoration of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel to be expected now?

[Shevardnadze] As regards the restortion of official diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel, our position on this matter is known. We would be prepared for this as soon as the real process of a settlement in the Near East begins. There are no grounds for parallelism in this matter either in form or in substance with the increasing of the status of the PLO mission.

The absence of diplomatic relations does not mean a rejection of political dialogue with Israel, especially on issues pertaining to a settlement in the Middle East. There are also some aspects of bilateral relations that dictate the need to maintain contacts. We are sure that much can be achieved in the modern world through the means of politics and diplomacy. As applied to the Middle East, this means, above all, the task of humanizing the relations between all the peoples in the region and overcoming the enmity and hatred. Our conversations with Israeli representatives are devoted to precisely that. We urge them to provide a suitable response to the willingness manifested by the Palestinians and Arabs as a whole to accept compromise in a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. My meeting with Minister E. Weizman also passed off in that key.

[TORONTO STAR] Another question on the Middle East. This week, Palestinian representatives requested the Soviet Union to review its emigration policy so as to stop the settlement of Soviet Jews in Israel. What is your reply?

[Shevardnadze] The Soviet Union is concerned by the statements of some Israeli leaders about their intention to hold on to captured Arab territories and populate them with immigrants, including those from the USSR. We have firmly drawn the attention of the Israeli Government to the impermissibility of such unlawful actions which create additional obstacles in the way of a Middle Eastern settlement. It is so hard to begin this still so fragile process, but it is so easy to frustrate it through ill-considered acts.

However, it is essential to be more precise about one particular circumstance: The problem is not emigration from the USSR. The Soviet law operating here is the same for everyone. We cannot introduce any special status for anyone. The essence of the problem lies in the hope still maintained by some Israeli leaders that at some stage the world will agree to their "right" to dispose of other people's lands.

The international community almost unanimously regards as unacceptable Israel's policy of setting up settlements on occupied Arab territories. This position was confirmed by the 44th session of the UN General Assembly. The European communities have just expressed themselves again in this vein.

However, the Israeli Government is not yet drawing the appropriate conclusions for itself. Evidently, the situation could require the direct attention of the United Nations and the Security Council.

[TORONTO STAR] The dispatch of army units to Azerbaijan has evoked criticism of some Muslim states. And Mikhail Gorbachev has blamed "fundamentalism" for some of the problems of that region. As foreign minister and as a "man from the Caucasus," what worries do you have with regard to the spreading of civil disporders in the regions of the Caucasus and Soviet Central Asia and their influence on the USSR's relations with the Muslim world?

[Shevardnadze] I would like to stress that the conflict in the Transcaucasus, which has flared up around the territorial quarrel over Nagorno Karabakh, is ethnic in nature and not a matter of religion or worldview.

The actions of the Soviet Government have been dicated solely by humane considerations—putting an end to terrorist phenomena, preventing a civil war between the two peoples, and stopping the bloodshed. They do not contain any political or, moreover, any "anti-Muslim" concealed meaning.

As a minister, as a Caucasian, and simply as a citizen of our multi-ethnic country, I take close to heart and experience deeply the grief which has befallen the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples and all who have been drawn into the (?maelstrom) of this conflict. Clashes on an interethnic basis evoke serious anxiety, especially now when restructuring acutely needs consolidation of all society both in the social and in the national context. The neglect for decades of ethnic problems which today are making themselves known in crisis forms is telling. I am convinced that the real solution of them is possible only within the framework of a union undergoing renewal, only on the road of perestroyka.

Objectively, there is no reason for events in the south of the Soviet Union to have a negative influence on our relations with the Islamic world. Attempts to give these events a religious color would be politically improper and would not correspond to anybody's interests.

[TORONTO STAR] And finally, what do you consider to be the main threat to peace and stability in the nineties?

[Shevardnadze] I will begin with a counterquestion: Why are we looking today with more optimism to the future, and what gives us hope? I think it is the mounting awareness among people of their community, of their belonging to a single civilization, a growing feeling of shared values, and an understanding that first and foremost each of us is a person. We see that it is necessary to get into the same harness, to join efforts to pull the contemporary human ark onto such high ground where no danger of destruction could threaten it.

The most terrible thing is to lose, at this stage, the common purpose and to go different ways, this time not so much under the influence of ideologies and class confrontations as orienting oneself on the "beacons" of national ideas, denominational altars, and lack of moral discrimination.

Everything can be overcome, the most difficult problems can be solved, and ways out of the toughest situations can be found if the mighty river of humanity does not get broken into shallow brooks and is not lost in the sands of time which eternally advance upon civilization.

The threat to universal peace and stability is a loss of the concepts about a destiny common to all humanity, about a duty common to all humanity and a responsibility.

Canadian Envoy Interviewed

PM3001134790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Report on interview with V.G. Turner, Canadian ambassador to the USSR, by correspondent Captain M. Zheglov; date, place not given; first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction: "'Open Skies.' How This Is Seen in Canada"]

[Text] At the beginning of January this year, a Hercules aircraft of the Canadian Air Force took off from Lahr Airbase in the FRG and, with the consent of the appropriate authorities, overflew Czechoslovakia's territory and flew around Hungary's territory. But the aircraft did not have any sensory apparatus on board because it was making a kind of test flight within the framework of the "open skies" concept. The "open skies" concept or setup—the idea for which was advanced by U.S. President Eisenhower in 1955—presupposes the mutual opening up of the airspace of the states involved in the setup so as to monitor [kontrol] their military activity from the air by means of reconnaissance aircraft with prior notification of the monitoring [kontrolnyy] flight. For a whole number of important reasons, this concept did not receive international support 35 years ago. But an attempt is being made today to return to it. An international conference on "open skies" is to be held in Ottawa, the Canadian capital, 12 February. The USSR will participate in the conference. KRASNAYA

ZVEZDA correspondent Captain M. Zheglov asked Mr V.G. Turner, the ambassador of Canada, the host country of the conference, to answer a number of questions concerning the experimental flight, the conference, and the position of Canada and NATO with regard to "open skies."

[Zheglov] Mr. Ambassador, on whose initiative was the experiment conducted? Was Canada acting independently or as a NATO member?

[Turner] The idea of conducting the test flight over Hungary's territory arose during corresponding discussions between Canadian and Hungarian officials in November. The subsequent consultations between representatives of both sides on all aspects of the flight also attest to the joint nature of the step taken.

[Zheglov] Has a decision been adopted to conduct a return experimental flight over Canada's territory?

[Turner] Canada has extended to the Warsaw Pact countries an invitation to undertake such a flight over Canadian territory in the very near future, and we hope that this can happen before the Ottawa conference. We believe that such a return flight could give a significant political boost on the eve of the Ottawa conference and be organized with a relatively short period of notification. We are prepared for all-around cooperation with any Warsaw Pact country or countries in organizing such a flight.

[Zheglov] Which problems relating to the results of the flight is it expedient, in your view, to submit for examination to the Ottawa conference?

[Turner] While conducting an exploratory inspection of the aircraft with a view to revealing forbidden sensors, it became clear that the thoroughness of the inspection, which entailed taking apart certain important aircraft assemblies, could arouse the crew's concern with regard to future flight safety. Both the sides involved in the experiment agreed that technical documentation relating to all the aircraft earmarked for flights within the framework of "open skies" should be exchanged before the corresponding treaty comes into force so that the receiving country's inspectors can familiarize themselves with their technical features. In addition, to facilitate the inspection, the country making the flight can attach various specialists to the flight crew.

[Zheglov] What difficulties, political and technical, do you see on the way to "open skies"?

[Turner] The chief difficulty probably consists in the different approaches to the "open skies" setup. NATO advocates a simple, flexible, individual approach whereby each country involved in the setup itself determines the types of aircraft, the demands on equipment and sensors, and also the procedure for informing its allies and the degree of information. The multilateral approach supported by the other side presupposes the standardization of everything that has a bearing on the setup, the use of aircraft, equipment, and sensors of a common type, and the accessibility to everyone of the information obtained during the flights. The first approach appears preferable to us from the viewpoint of national sovereignty, cost, and practicality. The second approach would mean tremendous difficulties in reaching a consensus as to the degree of standardization and would require the creation of a costly new international organization. It would be exceptionally difficult to manage such a setup. Another complexity would very likely be connected with determining permitted and forbidden types of sensors and also with deciding the question of whether flight quotas would be based only on the criterion of size of territory. These are all, in the main, technical difficulties. We do not expect significant political difficulties, since the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries have already confirmed the desirability of the "open skies" setup at the highest political levels.

[Zheglov] Which composition of parties to a possible "open skies" treaty do you consider preferable: Canada, the USSR, and the United States? The Warsaw Pact and NATO? The Warsaw Pact and NATO, but also Japan, the Philippines, and other strategically important territories?

[Turner] We prefer that the treaty should initially embrace the 23 member countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. After the setup has begun operating, it would be possible to consider extending its sphere to include willing European countries. As regards extending the setup outside Europe, a consensus is needed here among the countries that are party to the treaty. We would not want to discuss this before the 23 countries have subscribed to the "open skies" and it has justified itself in practice.

[Zheglov] How do you assess the USSR's proposal for open land, seas, oceans, and outer space by analogy with open skies?

[Turner] Although we fully support openness between East and West, it would be inaccurate to make an analogy between the "open skies" setup, on which we will be holding talks, and open land, seas, oceans, and space. Open seas, oceans, and space already exist, subject, of course, to international laws relating to national territorial jurisdiction and sovereignty. As for open land, it is becoming a reality in the context of confidence-building measures in Europe and a potential reality with regard to conventional armed forces in Europe in the form of on-site inspections for monitoring [proverka] purposes. Open land is a concept associated with arms control and disarmament treaties, including confidence-building measures. "Open skies," on the contrary is a step toward openness and transparency unconnected with any similar agreement. Thus, this setup becomes an addition to the already existing open seas, oceans, and space on the one hand and to the emerging open land on the other.

[Zheglov] What do you expect from the Ottawa conference—just a discussion of problems or the adoption of some decision?

[Turner] At the Ottawa conference we expect a debate on the technical problems against a background of political statements by foreign ministers urging the delegations to resolve these problems as quickly as possible. Making rapid progress on the basis of the political support already stated for the "open skies" setup by all the participants, we also foresee the possibility of an agreement on a number of significant technical questions.

Economic Forum in Switzerland Opens 1 Feb

LD0102231490 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Davos February 1 TASS—The World Economic Forum opened here today. In keeping with tradition, members of government, politicians, scientists, businessmen and the public have assembled in this famous Swiss highland resort to discuss world economic and political development.

Soviet First Deputy Premier Leonid Abalkin, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, President Carlos Salinas de Gortari of Mexico, and leaders of several international organizations are attending the week-long forum.

A discussion of upheavals in the USSR and East European countries and their impact on the economic and political situation in the world is expected.

Abalkin Gives Address

LD0302192290 Moscow TASS in English 1902 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Davos, Switzerland, February 3 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Boris Shabayev:

Discussions at the World Economic Forum, under way here, today focused on the radical changes in East Europe, their influence on the destiny of the continent and prospects for its development.

The forum was addressed by Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin who spoke about the goals, content and major aspects of the Soviet government's economic recovery programme, approved by the Second Congress of People's Deputies.

Abalkin said that "although perestroyka is facing some difficulties the Soviet Union has everything needed to accomplish its tasks."

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said in his speech that the current processes in East Europe are of major importance for the future of all European nations.

He called for the expansion and deepening of the all-European economic and political cooperation.

Abalkin Meets Felber

LD0402065690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2320 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Berne, 4 Feb (TASS)—Within the framework of the annual meeting of heads of state and government, ministers, and leaders of the business world from more than 50 countries, a discussion was held in Davos on Friday between Leonid Abalkin, head of the Soviet delegation and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and R. Felber, chief of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland. Questions of Soviet-Swiss relations and approaches to topical European and international problems were discussed.

Yu.L. Abalkin informed R. Felber about the progress of perestroyka of the economic mechanism in USSR and about the opportunities opening up in this respect for economic cooperation between the USSR and Western countries. A mutual interest was expressed in making more active use of the potential of Soviet-Swiss contacts in various spheres.

Speeches Reported

LD0502130290 Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Davos (Switzerland) February 5 TASS—The ongoing radical changes in East Europe and their impact on the continent's destiny, as well as prospects for the development of East European states, are in the spotlight of the international symposium held here under the auspices of the World Economic Forum. Heads of state, leading political figures and economic experts from many countries are traditionally taking part in it.

The symposium was addressed by Leonid Abalkin, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, who dwelt on the goals, essence and principal stages of the programme of revitalising Soviet economy, endorsed by the second congress of people's deputies of the USSR. Without glossing over perestroyka's difficulties at the current stage, Abalkin stressed that the Soviet Union had everything necessary to cope with it.

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl noted that the processes under way in the east of the continent were of vital importance for the future of all European nations. He went on record for the expansion and deepening of European economic and political cooperation, for the creation of security structures that would go beyond the limits of military-political blocs.

At the same time, the head of the West German Government did not support the proposal to hold a European referendum on German's unity with the participation of the United States and Canada. "This problem concerns only Germans," the chancellor stressed. Kohl also objected to future Germany's neutral status. He said it would allegedly contradict the logics of the all-European process of unification.

Journalists showed interest in the meeting between Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers Hans Modrow, which took place during the symposium. The eye-to-eye negotiations touched on questions linked with preparations for a new meeting between the heads of the two German states in Bonn, and also on Modrow's recently advanced concept of Germany's unification. The sides also touched on problems of setting up an economic and monetary alliance between the FRG and the GDR.

Addressing a special plenary meeting, President Wojciech Jaruzelski of Poland, heads of government Modrow, Lukanov and Calfa dwelt on the economic and political reforms going on in their respective countries. They replied to numerous questions put by symposium's participants.

Asked about the terms and prospects of Germany's unification Modrow and Jaruzelski stressed that the German people's right to self-determination could be based only on such principles as respect of international law, integrity of existing borders and consolidation of stability on the European Continent.

West's Predictions for Perestroyka Weighed

PM0502163590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5

[Anatoliy Karpychev article under the rubric "Journalist's Notes": "Mr. 'Z' and His Predictions"]

[Text] We did not imagine that perestroyka would encounter such serious—I would even say tragic—trials. And we did not imagine it because many people did not wrestle with the idea of perestroyka or agonize over it, but merely reacted in their customary stereotyped way to instructions from "on high," even though they felt the "fresh" wind blowing. And now things have reached the point where perestroyka is indeed a revolution rather than wordplay or another fad.

Things today are very hard for us. To coin a phrase—We have nowhere else to go. People in the West know this, and we make no secret of it: What is the point? Not a day goes by without somebody—at a news conference, in a scientific auditorium, in intelligence circles, or in the military sphere—touching on the situation in the Soviet Union and the countries of East Europe. There has been a flurry of forecasts on the subject of whether Soviet perestroyka will or will not withstand the onslaught of the crisis in the economy, the nationalities problems, and unforeseen events.

These forecasts have come from well-known academics, professional politicians, diplomats, military figures, and journalists. The diversity of opinions can be gauged from newspaper headlines—"The Disintegrating Bear," "Separatism Threatens Democracy"—and by the conclusions of the experts—"The state of the economy, the weakening of the Communist Party's power, and the intensification of the demands of non-Russian nationalists will continue to create serious problems"; "It is quite easy to accomplish a revolution, and this applies equally to the countries of East Europe, but it is very hard to create a governable state...."

Since M.S. Gorbachev has become the embodiment of perestroyka for the West, his personality, work, and prospects have also been put under the microscope. The "dangerous" position in which Gorbachev has been placed by the exacerbation of problems in the country is noted more and more persistently in assessments, and the idea of "the revenge of the Soviet conservatives" and enemies of change is not ruled out. On this subject George F. Kennan, the patriarch of U.S. Sovietologists and a former U.S. ambassador in Moscow (he is now 85) recently said the following:

"The burden of problems on Gorbachev's shoulders is so heavy that it is doubtful that there are people among his potential opponents who would like to take it upon themselves."

The passions which have recently been whipped up over the fate of perestroyka are by no means explained by love of the policy. And the concern about its progress and outcome is not a result of courtesy in respect of the change in our behavior after decades of the "ideology of enmity."

Perestroyka is a serious policy, a fundamentally new course of ours—not least for international relations and not only for domestic "use," much less so for official use. People may adopt different attitudes toward perestroyka—it is stupid to ignore this. I do not believe the West fully understands everything about it. It was understood with difficulty from the very outset. Initially it was called another "propaganda trick": People claimed that the Soviets wanted to please the West; then certain specialists went to the other extreme, claiming that the Soviet Union intended thereby to abandon socialist values. Soon the West seemed to understand the absurdity of this argument, but now our own homegrown "Sovietologists" would like to see perestroyka solely from this angle. However, that is by the by.... Then events in East Europe so dazzled everyone with their unexpectedness and turbulent development that the world gasped, since U.S. conservatives had held that "the history of this century provides no grounds for expecting transformations in totalitarian regimes."

Today both they, the West, and we, the East, want to profoundly understand what is happening, but our main understanding, in my view, still lies ahead. A great deal is in flux and in the process of development, but there are already certain "things" that have become established—for instance, no serious politician any longer considers perestroyka to be a "tactical maneuver." On the contrary, behind the concepts of "perestroyka" and "glasnost" they see that the Soviet leadership's line accords with the realities of the time. The West would like to know as soon as possible just where this line will take us: either... or....

In principle, the issues are not new. They flare up every time an acute situation develops in our country. What I would say is new is that the Western public has suddenly been inundated with predictions—and particularly so recently. Amid the chorus of opinions I have even heard the swish of a conductor's baton. But I could be wrong about that.

To take the big picture—it is as if two groups of predictions on the fate of perestroyka have clashed. The first group is typified by the opinion formulated by President Bush and Secretary of State Baker before the memorable Malta meeting: "We want perestroyka to succeed...." The President has not abandoned this position—on the contrary, he has recently reaffirmed it. Yesterday PRAVDA published a report on a telephone conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush on their determination to act in the Malta spirit. Answering questions on M.S. Gorbachev at news conferences, Bush said virtually word for word: "...He is facing an ethnic problem and a domestic problem on a gigantic scale. ...I hope that he won't just survive but will stay strong, since I believe that perestroyka's success and progress is in our interests." "As for Mr. Gorbachev, I was asked about this yesterday and I stated that I very much want to see him succeed. I believe he has acted very well in an exceptionally difficult situation. He continues to be devoted to peaceful change, and I don't think anyone has blamed him for the difficulties he's encountered in Azerbaijan."

Attitudes to perestroyka are expressed in approximately the same spirit and vein by Thatcher, Mitterrand, Kohl, and prominent statesmen in other countries, each of whom, while responding to our new course in international affairs, at the same time has the balance of their own country's interests in mind—and there is nothing degrading about that for us. After all, we too have our interests, and we too are trying to achieve them by civilized means. How else should it be? Ideology is ideology, but it doesn't fill bellies and it won't defend your borders for you.... We have learned by bitter experience that if ideology is a guide in international affairs, it is only good for drawing "iron curtains" or building "walls."

Times have changed today. Many politicians have noted that it is pleasant to do business with Gorbachev—he is different from the type of Soviet leader we used to "place" on the world stage. But the West, in my view, is right to argue that policy cannot be based merely on a likable leader's personality, prestige, and charm. Although...we will not downplay the personality element either.

Now to the other group of predictions about the Soviet Union. This group is typified by abrasiveness and, I would even say, a kind of return to hostility. I would highlight several points.

First, it is proposed, and—as certain commentators have noted—proposed "with cynical and convincing enthusiasm," that President Gorbachev be left to his "own fate." Let him solve his problems himself, they say.

Second, it is claimed that "even Gorbachev-style Soviet communism is ultimately not rectifiable."

Third, the West's attempts to promote Soviet reform are allegedly doomed to fail, and America can do little.

Fourth, America needs to prepare for a long period of instability with the Soviet Union. Where does this chilling candor come from?

This "candor" can be seen in an article published in the Cambridge, Massachusetts journal DAEDALUS. The article has caused a rumpus and produced contradictory responses. It is not just a question of its content. Clearly, both the journal and the writer have deliberately repeated a move which has left its mark on the American memory. In 1947 the journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS featured an article entitled "Sources of Soviet Behavior," setting forth the celebrated doctrine of "containing communism," which became one of the central elements of the cold war. The author of the 1947 article hid behind the pseudonym Mr. X. The author of the Cambridge article hid behind the pseudonym Z.

The public immediately spotted the similarity in the way the article was presented and asked the question: Is this a new doctrine? It is well known that Mr. X was George F. Kennan, subsequently U.S. ambassador in Moscow, whom I quoted at the beginning of these notes. But who is Mr. Z? Politicians have been bluntly noting that he is talking about the old doctrine of "artful inaction" [iskusnoye bezdeystviye], which, as is clear from the article, proposes what is allegedly the most correct approach to a "collapsing Soviet Union" now that the doctrine of "containing communism" has fulfilled its mission.

Let us not imagine that the Americans worry about the success of Soviet perestroyka day and night. Around a year ago their feelings about cooperating with us were expressed in the formula quoted in an opinion poll—"cautiously willing." People continued to experience symptoms of distrust and checked our goodwill at every step—would the Russians pull a fast one? On the other hand, the West wants and makes no secret of wanting events both in our country and in East Europe to develop "in the direction of democracy." Times have very much changed....

"It is in the interests of the United States for perestroyka to succeed." I have encountered those words from President Bush, from other politicians, and in the press. And each time I asked myself the naive question: Just why is it in their interests? Perestroyka is a child of our own blood; nobody aside from us will rear it and put it on its feet. We, and we alone, should be concerned to ensure that our president can withstand the "burden of problems" and prevent the "bear disintegrating." All this is in the USSR's interests. What have U.S. interests got to do with it?

Let us agree that we will not look for dirty tricks in this political purpose. It is time to slough off suspicion. Let us simply recall once again Britain's Palmerston, who said that there are no everlasting allies or everlasting enemies, but that there are constant everlasting interests which he would pursue. Do East and West have common interests which are served by perestroyka? Yes, we know what they are. Otherwise we would never avoid confrontation. One of those interests is that it is better to live as partners than enemies. Another interest is that terrible confrontation led to the accumulation of deadly weaponry and that nothing good came of it. We are ridding ourselves of fear and pushing away the threat of war—all this, of course, is in mankind's interests.

But...I would like to mention an interest which today, as a result of the changes in the USSR and East Europe, is being talked about particularly vocally. It is probably hard to be more frank than [London's] THE INDEPENDENT newspaper. Here is what it said: "There are no longer two superpowers. The USSR ultimately, it seems, will cease to be a superpower: This superpower's status has always been excessively dependent on its military might. Since it cannot guarantee its own future, its potential for exerting pressure in international affairs and giving others advice about how to conduct their affairs will be sharply limited." The not unknown Zbigniew Brzezinski also claimed that the USSR is no longer a rival for the United States. The West hopes and expects that the shoots produced in 1989 will in turn produce seeds in 1990. Depending on how you interpret those "seeds."

"We want democratization in East Europe," President Bush once said. "We want openness to lead to the appearance of market forces in the Soviet economy too. All this, I think, is in line with our interests."

What else can be added to these thoughts?

I would cite the following rejoinder from C. Powell, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs: "Irrespective of what the Soviets do—even if they leave East Europe—we will have to hang a sign on our door saying: Superpower lives here."

Admittedly, academics are noting that the prestige of the United States as a superpower is declining, and in the future it will lose its former influence.

Clearly, behind all the arguments about the fate of our perestroyka a strategy is being painstakingly elaborated for the nineties which will determine how the world will begin the 21st century. We stated our vision of this at the UN General Assembly session in 1988, in December.

I do not think that in the future we will call ourselves a superpower exclusively on the basis of military might, weapons stockpiles, and deterrence by force. The concept of superpower includes the principle of being in charge of whatever you want—it is better to distance ourselves from this reputation. It is common sense, not superpowers, that should be in charge of peace. But that is a different philosophy. We are proposing it through our perestroyka—it has won respect through its new political thinking and its new vision of the world.

...When we initiated perestroyka we were not looking for Western money. We were placing our hope in our own abilities. Naturally, we value support from whatever quarter. But the fact that people in the West have differing opinions about us is no big deal; it is natural. And we will be calm about it. On other occasions, other Mr. Z's will claim that perestroyka is failing. We even have our own homegrown skeptics.... That is of the order of things when you are talking about revolution.

Batsanov Discusses Chemical Weapons Issues

LD0502132290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Interview with Sergey Batsanov, leader of the Soviet delegation to the Geneva Disarmament Conference, by radio correspondent Vladimir Dmitriyev—recorded]

[Text] [Dmitriyev] Sergey Borisovich, what remains to be done to prepare a convention on chemical weapons?

[Batsanov] I think there is not much left to be done. It is necessary to finish working out the clause on inspections on demand—that is, inspections that can be held at the request of any state participating in the convention on the territory of another participant. Moreover, at any time, at any site, and without the right of refusal.

Then we have to work out conditions for special inspections of a broad spectrum of chemical enterprises, which will be carried out in addition to systematic inspections at certain plants that are most important from the point of view of the convention.

I would also mention the question of the procedure for destroying chemical weapons, the composition of an executive council—this will be the main body of the international organization which will be founded in accordance with the convention—and also the problem of a complete ban on the use of chemical weapons after the convention comes into force.

[Dmitriyev] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, in his speech at the ecology forum in Moscow, spoke about the desirability of international cooperation in the area of destroying chemical weapons stores. What can one say about the attitude of other states towards this idea?

[Batsanov] We have already managed to talk about this with our American colleagues, and as far as we understand it, the American side's attitude to the idea of international cooperation in the area of destroying chemical weapons stores is positive—that is how I would characterize it. I think that such cooperation will allow us to find together the most reliable and advantageous, from the economic point of view, ecologically sound solution.

[Dmitriyev] How quickly can a convention banning chemical weapons be prepared? This is probably a difficult question.

[Batsanov] Yes, it is not simple, although it is already possible to make an estimate, and in our evaluation one to two years is sufficient to conclude the talks. Such an evaluation is now shared by the vast majority of other delegations.

[Dmitriyev] And what can one say about the other aspects of the session?

[Batsanov] The Soviet delegation has concentrated its main attention on two issues on the whole of the conference's broad agenda: first, the problem of a complete ban on nuclear tests, and second, the prevention of an arms race in space. Apart from this we intend to pay more attention than previously to the question of increasing the effectiveness of the conference's work as a mechanism in multilateral talks as a whole.

German Unification Debate Developments Reported

PM0502171790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Roundup of TASS reports: "Sharp Debate"]

[Text] Washington, 4 Feb—FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has come to the U.S. capital on a working visit. He began talks Friday evening with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

According to State Department spokesperson M. Tutweiler, the initiative for the meeting came from Bonn. Citing a "U.S. official spokesman," UPI points out that "the idea was to hold talks before the secretary of state's trip to Moscow," which will take place next week.

The question of Germany's reunification occupied an important place on the talks agenda. Speaking at a news conference, Genscher reported that an accord was reached during his meeting with Baker that Germany's unification will not mean "the eastward extension of NATO's defense and security sphere." At the same time this principle concerns not only the GDR but also other East European states. The U.S. secretary of state said in this regard: "We agreed on the need to develop the process and the framework for unification, taking into account the interests of all the sides with an interest in this question."

London, 4 Feb—At a news conference held here W. Momper, West Berlin's ruling mayor, pointed out that the need to create a reunited Germany is dictated by both national and socioeconomic factors. GDR citizens, the mayor believes, seek to rule out the possibility of a return to the past and to embark on the path of stable economic development.

According to him, the process of uniting the two German states must not take place "in isolation," since it concerns all European states simultaneously, including the Soviet Union and Poland. In this connection the mayor advanced a proposal to hold a meeting in Berlin this year within the CSCE framework for a detailed discussion of the question connected with a new security system on the European Continent.

Vienna, 4 Feb—NATO Secretary General M. Woerner has come out categorically against the creation of a neutral united Germany. He declared in an Austrian television interview that the realization of H. Modrow's concept, which provides for the neutralization of the united German states, would be a retrograde step and lead to the destabilization of Europe.

United States & Canada

Secretary Baker's Upcoming Visit Previewed

LD0502173990 Moscow TASS in English 1705 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Konstantin Voitsekhovich:

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's visit to the Soviet Union, to begin on Wednesday, is expected to give a further boost to already warm Soviet-U.S. relations.

Baker will hold talks with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. He is also expected to meet Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and address the International Affairs Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet during his stay.

Shevardnadze and Baker will discuss matters relating to the forthcoming Soviet-American summit which is scheduled for June in Washington. They will also examine issues of a military-political nature connected with the conclusion of work on an agreement on a fifty-per cent cut in the two countries' strategic offensive weapons. Other items of their agenda include regional problems, Soviet-American interactions in the humanitarian field, transnational problems and bilateral cooperation.

Recent statements in which representatives of the Soviet leadership and the Washington Administration expressed optimistic views on prospects for Soviet-American relations seem likely to boost the chances of real progress.

Shevardnadze stressed in an interview with the AP news agency that Soviet-U.S. relations had acquired a new quality. He described as "quite plausible" the conclusion this year of agreements halving strategic offensive weapons, cutting armed forces in Europe and eliminating chemical weapons.

President Bush in his State of the Union message to Congress called for building new relations with the Soviet Union. The time has come for advancing towards the conclusion of an agreement on the reduction of conventional arms and armaments in Europe, the President stressed, proposing cuts in Soviet and American troops in central and Eastern Europe. He proposed that each side retain no more than 195,000 troops there.

Welcoming the United States' readiness to build a new relationship with the Soviet Union, Soviet diplomats hope that Baker's visit to Moscow will turn these aims into reality in every sphere of Soviet-American dialogue.

Schifter Says Baker To Discuss Human Rights

PM0602093090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Feb 90 Second Edition p 7

[Interview with Richard Schifter, U.S. assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, by A. Lyutyy in Moscow: "'The Situation Has Changed Radically'"; date of interview not given; first four paragraphs are Lyutyy introduction]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker is coming to Moscow. Although his visit is to take palce within the framework of regular Soviet-American consultations at the level of heads of foreign policy departments, this time it is prompting heightened interest.

This is the first Soviet-American contact at such a high level since the Malta talks. The exchange of opinions is urgent not only with a view to "itemizing" the work done since Malta in the sphere of our relations. It is also necessary to jointly analyze the world situation, which is changing with dizzying speed.

As usual, an "advance group" of high-ranking U.S. experts is already working in Moscow within the framework of preparations for the visit. Among its members is Richard Schifter, assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, a very well-known personality in world diplomacy and in international human rights circles.

A lawyer by profession, R. Schifter was appointed to his present post under the Reagan administration in 1985. Before that he worked at the United Nations, among other things on that organization's human rights commission. Formerly he worked as an attorney. It is interesting that his clients included representatives of the American Indian tribes. Until comparatively recently, any mention of R. Schifter in our press was usually accompanied by absurd epithets; he was fairly energetic in his criticism of the USSR's human rights policy. What is the situation now? That question began our conversation.

[Schifter] I think the situation has changed very radically. In my opinion the present Soviet leadership is committed to observing the principles of the CSCE Final Act. That means it is committed to protecting human rights. Problems exist, of course. I see problems, for instance, in the fact that at the lowest levels of the state bureaucracy obstacles or hitches in the implementation of concrete decisions sometimes arise. But that is not only your problem, it exists in other countries too, including ours. Sometimes it takes quite a long time before a decision adopted at the very top is put into practice at the lowest levels of the state machine. But progress is evident.

[Lyutyy] Will human rights issues hold an important place in the talks between Baker and Shevardnadze?

[Schifter] Undoubtedly. It is one item on the agenda. There are a number of unresolved questions. But we are gradually moving in the direction of cooperation on a wide spectrum of humanitarian problems.

[Lyutyy] It is more than a year since the Vienna accords. What can you say about our side's fulfillment of the document signed in Vienna, in particular as regards emigration problems? The West sometimes reproaches us because a law on entry to and exit from the USSR has not yet been adopted.

[Schifter] The main thing is that the process has begun. Immediately after Vienna the USSR drew up a concrete program for fulfilling the accords. As for the law you mention, although it has not been finally adopted, it was approved at the first reading. And we very much hope that later, this winter, it will be adopted.

[Lyutyy] People in the United States also say that restrictions on trade with the USSR should be lifted only after the Soviet Union has adopted democratic emigration legislation. But in principle, the question of emigration from the USSR has been resolved. Is it necessary to wait for a law? After all, some American businessmen are complaining that favorable trade opportunities are being missed.

[Schifter] President Bush has already set forth the terms on which he is prepared to seek the lifting of the Jackson-Vanik amendment. The point is that the lifting of this amendment will produce practical results only if we sign a new Soviet-American trade agreements. Talks on this are about to begin. We hope they will be completed before the summer summit meeting. It is in that context that the Jackson-Vanik amendment will be lifted.

[Lyutyy] You are concerned with human rights. Looking at your own country, could you say that its track record is beyond reproach?

[Schifter] I often repeat that no country can boast of that. But the main difference between our two countries in this sphere—at least, this was the case until recently—is that in the United States a kind of self-adjusting mechanism was set up long ago and is in operation on questions of observing human rights. We have an independent judiciary—the defender of the individual's rights. In your country a rule-of-law state is only just being built, which means that the judiciary still has to be made independent.

Yes, human rights violations take place in the United States. But there is also a mechanism capable of rectifying mistakes.

[Lyutyy] What form specifically do these violations take?

[Schifter] Take the police. I do not guarantee you—and no one can guarantee—that every policeman, at the time of an arrest, will strictly observe the law and his instructions....

[Lyutyy] I would like to hear a few words about your family and recreations.

[Schifter] I am 66. I have a wife, five children, and eight grandchildren. In my free time I like to read. I am mainly interested in books on historical subjects. I think I have quite a good knowledge of history.

[Lyutyy] Do you study our newspapers to some extent, and do you see any changes there?

[Schifter] Yes, there was a time when your press seemed very boring and predictable. Today that is not so. The newspapers are interesting. I wish Soviet journalists all the best. May your press be the really free press of a free country.

Deputy KGB Chief Receives Schifter, Vershbow

LD0502221290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1840 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 5 Feb (TASS)—In accordance with a request from the U.S. side, Richard Schifter, the assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs; A.Vershbow, the State Department director of the Soviet Affairs Office; and officials from the U.S. Embassy in the Soviet Union were received today at the USSR Committee for State Security.

They were received by Vladimir Pirozhkov, deputy chairman of the USSR KGB. Also taking part in the conversation from the Soviet side were Yuriy Reshetov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights Directorate, and senior personnel of the KGB and of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

The U.S. side was briefed about the USSR Committee for State Security as one of the country's law-enforcement organs working in conditions of further democratization of Soviet society and the establishment of a law-governed state and the defense of human rights and liberties. Other questions were touched upon as well. The conversation took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding.

Ambassador Matlock Holds Meetings in Moscow

Received by Girenko 2 Feb

PM0502151990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 2 February A.N. Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, at his request.

During the conversation, which took place in an amicable atmosphere, there was an exchange of opinions on some questions of Soviet-U.S. relations.

Confers With Karpov 5 Feb

LD0502164490 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov today received U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Jack Matlock at the latter's request.

They discussed the forthcoming Moscow talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Matlock handed Karpov a message from Baker to Shevardnadze.

People's Deputies Meet 'Young' U.S. Politicians

LD0502215490 Moscow TASS in English 1749 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mikhail Ivanov:

A delegation from the American Council of Young Political Leaders (ACYPL), visiting Moscow at the invitation of the Committee of Youth Organisations (CYO), met here today a group of people's deputies representing the Young Communist League.

Deputy Sergey Kalashnikov, member of the Parliamentary Commission for Youth Affairs, told the guests about problems of the country's youth policy and the contribution the younger generation is making to the life of the country. Much attention was paid to a discussion of the most pressing issues in the country's domestic policy, including inter-ethnic relations.

The American delegation's two leaders—Democrat Joan Baggett, political director of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen, and Republican James Conzelman, administrative assistant to congressman Michael Oxley—were unanimous in their appraisal of the talk. They described it as an open, frank dialogue that helped young American politicians better understand political processes in the Soviet Union.

"Like many other Americans, we closely follow developments in the Soviet Union and the news of Soviet perestroyka," Baggett told TASS. "Nevertheless, we think it most important to get first-hand information, understand what young Soviet politicians think about current processes both inside and outside the Soviet Union and discuss further prospects for the development of bilateral contacts between Soviet and American youth representatives."

The young American political leaders will be given an opportunity to realise their wishes—on Wednesday a joint Soviet-American group representing the ACYPL and the CYO will leave for the city of Suzdal for a five-day bilateral seminar on the role of Democratic institutions in the life of modern society.

Supreme Soviet's Lapygin on Tour of U.S. Bases

PM0202162590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Interview with V. Lapygin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions, by APN military observer V. Pogrebenkov "specially for IZVESTIYA": "To the United States—For Military Secrets"; place and date of interview not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions will be visiting the United States in the first 10 days of February. Delegation head V. Lapygin was interviewed by APN military observer V. Pogrebenkov especially for IZVESTIYA.

[Pogrebenkov] A little bit of background: A group of members of the U.S. House of Representatives Armed Services Committee headed by Chairman L. Aspin visited the Soviet Union last August. Soviet parliamentarians will pay a return visit to the United States this February. Who initiated these contacts?

[Lapygin] When the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions was set up following a USSR Supreme Soviet decision in June 1989, the U.S. legislators expressed interest in it. For our part, we decided to invite our U.S. colleagues to familiarize themselves not only with our committee but also with major Soviet military-strategic installations. At the end of the seven-day trip, L. Aspin remarked on its usefulness and the great openness shown by the Soviet side. It was then that he promised to make sure that his Soviet colleagues' return visit to the United States would be equally meaningful.

[Pogrebenkov] What are the specific objectives and program of your visit?

[Lapygin] We would like to see for ourselves today's U.S. Armed Forces, the trends in their development, their manpower acquisition, the types of armaments they use, the way they are supplied, and so on. In short, we would like to "penetrate" military secrets within permissible levels. We are doing this to pass a competent and unbiased judgment on the degree of real military threat from the United States and to make substantiated decisions.

Regarding the visit's program, it is quite full. There are days when we will have to take three flights from installation to installation. A special aircraft has been allocated to us for this purpose. Speaking of our trip in geographical terms, it will cover major Army, Air Force, and Navy bases and installations.

[Pogrebenkov] Is reciprocal mistrust in the military sphere still high to this day?

[Lapygin] The military sphere is a very delicate one. It is directly linked to national security. Our government has taken quite a few steps, including some unilateral steps, to establish trust in this sphere. But when the U.S. legislators came to visit us, we asked them bluntly: "Why are you pursuing a positions of strength policy toward us?" They replied equally bluntly: "We do not trust you. You say one thing and do something else." True enough, as a result of last year's trip, the U.S. congressmen and the experts accompanying them seem to have been convinced that our words and deeds do not diverge.

As for the United States, its government has recently made a series of very promising declarations on reducing the military budget, armed forces manpower, the number of military bases, and so on. But some armed forces modernization programs—like the building of the B-2 "Stealth" bomber and the MX missiles, the research work on SDI, and others—make up for these peace-making assurances, and the overall balance of forces, it seems to me, is still not in favor of an active disarmament trend in the United States. Moreover, there are some quite influential forces there which will oppose the establishment of mutual trust. This must also be borne in mind.

[Pogrebenkov] What would you like to see in the United States in your professional capacity?

[Lapygin] I am the director and general designer of an automation and instrument-making science and production association. It deals with the development of guidance systems for spacecraft and their launchers. Incidentally, the development of the "Buran" shuttle's guidance system, including its automatic landing system, is the fruit of collective efforts by our own association and its partner organizations. And so, I am interested in the U.S. shuttle and nonreusable spacecraft. In the military sphere—the MX and "Minuteman-2" missiles. The satisfaction of this interest will depend on the U.S. side's openness.

Two Trends Emerging for U.S. Budget Debate

PM0102145390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Feb 90 Second Edition p 6

[Dispatch by Vitaliy Gan under the "Correspondents Comment" rubric: "United States: The Threat Has Lessened. What Next?"]

[Text] Washington, 31 Jan—Black limousines roll up to the Senate's Hart Office Building every morning. The honorable gentlemen and their retinue of advisers and assistants go up to the second story to Room 216, where the Armed Services Committee conducts its sessions.

Although it has been only a few days since the U.S. Congress resumed its work, these hearings quickly have become the focal point attracting the country's sociopolitical attention. For the first time that specialists and observers can remember, the Armed Services Committee has embarked on a philosophical and practical consideration of the fundamental postulates of U.S. military strategy. After relying on the "Soviet military threat" for decades, Washington politicians now cannot fail to realize that the rapidly changing world has "well and truly" rendered obsolescent the actual conceptual foundation of the "challenge to America," which those on the Potomac used to mouth automatically.

The committee's chairman, Senator S. Nunn, popularly explained it as follows: "Every day on television we see the threat changing." Newspapers have said that it is a question of the "radical revision of U.S. military strategy and spending in the wake of the sociopolitical transformations in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe" and the "possibility of a fundamentally different appraisal of U.S. military requirements in the 1990's," ensuring that no one considers the senator's words excessively rhetorical.

Work has just begun. You cannot form an integral picture as of yet. Nonetheless, no matter how contradictory the statements made at the hearings by incumbent and former administration staffers and representatives of military-industrial corporations may be at times, all of them can be found to contain totally new nuances that would have seemed unusual last year. There is, for instance, CIA Director Webster's public statement to the effect that the Soviet Union is keeping the promise made by M.S. Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly session in 1988 regarding reductions in Soviet troops and arms. "The Soviet military threat in Europe and throughout the world is lessening," he said,

One can now talk about two main trends at least. On the one hand, a large bloc of legislators support the need to rationalize U.S. military policy in conditions of a "less dangerous world," as people here are fond of saying. On the other hand, the White House and the Pentagon favor playing a waiting game until the "dust settles" after the changes. Their natural allies, so to speak, are those legislators whose electoral districts greatly depend on military orders and military-industrial corporations.

It may be predicted that these two trends will clash without fail during the budget debate on Capitol Hill.

Reductions in U.S. Draft Military Budget Noted

PM0102143390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 1 Feb 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general headline: "The Pentagon Proposes Reductions..."]

[Text] Washington, 30 Jan—U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney has held a news conference at the Pentagon at which he reported some details of the draft military budget drawn up by the administration.

Under the heading "National Defense," the White House is asking for a sum total of $306.9 billion for fiscal 1991, which begins 1 October, including appropriations for the military programs of the U.S. Department of Energy and other federal departments. The overall budget of the Pentagon itself is proposed in the sum of $295.1 billion, with spending on specific military programs in the sum of $292.1 billion. R. Cheney declared that, taking inflation into account, the Pentagon's new draft budget provides for a 2.6 percent reduction in military spending compared with appropriations for the U.S. Defense Department's activity in the current fiscal year.

He said that this draft military budget includes "the first steps in response to the phenomenal changes in East Europe and the Soviet Union." R. Cheney named among these steps the decision to terminate U.S. military activity at 12 bases or military installations in West Europe and South Korea over the next four years, the proposal to close 35 bases on U.S.territory per se, and also the abandonment of 20 programs for the creation of new weapons.

Continuation of U.S. SDI Program Reported

LD0602085490 Moscow TASS in English 0803 GMT 6 Feb 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash]

[Text] Washington February 6 TASS—The U.S. Administration intends to continue to carry out the Strategic Defence Initiative, the expediency of which is doubted even by the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff and renowned U.S. scientists.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater on Monday told a briefing that the SDI plays a key role in U.S. national defence plans and that new technologies tested within the SDI framework can help the United States considerably increase its deterrence abilities.

The U.S. military budget for the 1991 fiscal year, which was submitted by President Bush to Congress, for the first time included the SDI program in the "triad" of the U.S. strategic forces—ground-based strategic missiles, strategic aviation and submarine-based strategic missiles. The Pentagon asked for 4,471 million dollars to fulfil the program, including the project to deploy platforms with small-size interceptor missiles in space.

Specialists believe that the cost of the project itself—25 billion dollars—has been underestimated, since it will require from 10,000 to 100,000 interceptor missiles up to 1.5 million dollars each, satellite-platforms and systems of combat infrastructure.

According to Pentagon consultant Wilson, this project provides for a "space mine field." The Joint Chiefs of Staff are skeptical about Star Wars, THE NEW YORK TIMES reports.

Cruise Missile Test Marred by Aircraft Crash

PM0502155390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jan 90 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Shelkov dispatch: "The Missiles Made It, But..."]

[Text] Ottawa—The 15th and most recent U.S. cruise missile test has taken place above Canada's northern expanses. Launched from a U.S. Air Force plane over the Beaufort Sea in the Arctic Ocean, the missile covered hundreds of km and landed in the target area a few hours later. However, on this occasion the organizers of these test flights cannot be satisfied. During the operation a Canadian CF-18 aircraft, which was to intercept the cruise missile in flight, crashed. Only minutes after taking off from the Inuvik military base (Northwest Territories) the aircraft plummeted to the ground and exploded.

The fate of the pilot is not yet known. The base command is hoping that he managed to eject at the last minute.

Vremya Program To Have Trial Run in U.S.

LD0602090190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2325 GMT 5 Feb 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Shitov]

[Summary] New York, 6 Feb (TASS)—The International Video Broadcasting Company in Washington and the WGBH television station in Boston will be showing the Soviet "Vremya" news program in the United States from next Monday. The trial-run will last two weeks with the aim of attracting sponsorship, without which the two companies will be unable to continue the broadcasts.

Over 30 TV stations in the non-commercial Public Broadcasting System have already expressed a desire to transmit the program, which will be accompanied by a simultaneous English translation.

The International Video Broadcasting firm has acquired the exclusive rights for the broadcasting of all Soviet information programmes in the United States. (Richard Kayper), a member of the firm's board of directors, told a TASS correspondent, "We reckon that our viewers will include government departments, university research centers, and specialist Sovietologists, as well as all Americans who are studying Russian or are interested in the Soviet Union.

Northeast Asia

Mongolian Local Elections Previewed

PM2601135790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent A. Nabatchikov: "Mongolia: Crucial Stage of Reform"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar—Measuring its actions against the transformation processes taking place in the fraternal socialist countries, Mongolia is entering the run-up to the elections to the local hurals of people's deputies on the basis of genuine democracy. The elections are preceded by a nationwide discussion of the new draft law "On the election of deputies to people's hurals."

A law of this kind was first adopted in Mongolia at the beginning of the thirties. And although it was improved twice in the middle of the last decade, its current provisions, like the political superstructure of Mongolian society in general, needed to be radically overhauled and revamped. They are still heavily imbued with the inertia of the recent past, when the very important principles of the people's extensive involvement in running the state were nullified and became empty slogans and declarations beneath the burden of ultracentralism.

Even today state bodies are often in effect subordinate to the institutions of executive power, while the hurals are simply incapable of exercising their legitimate authority, granted to them by the people. They can hardly expect to exercise this authority effectively as long as there is no clear-cut demarcation between their rights and the rights of administrative organs, and, above all, their own administrations. Year after year there are sessions of local hurals, all just for show and all orchestrated. Formalism and directive and command methods have not yet been eradicated from the organization of elections and procedure for forming hurals.

"The present election system, which has operated for some decades," T. Gotob, secretary of the Mongolian People's Republic People's Great Hural Presidium, told your correspondent, "has run its course and is politically, organizationally, and legally obsolete."

Now, in the era of glasnost, one can hear at all levels bitter admissions that for a long time the social composition of the deputies has been prearranged in the republic and candidates for organs of people's power have not been nominated by voters, but have been decided on by those at the top. "The deputy's mandate and his duties," C. Erdene-Ochir, a resident of Ulaanbaatar, writes in UNEN, "became a kind of adjunct to an official post. Practice shows that a stereotype had been established in people's Mongolia of the false notion that a senior leader must be a deputy at the corresponding level."

In fact, at the moment nearly one-half of People's Great Hural and local hural deputies are leaders of various ministries or departments. That is, they are basically accountable to themselves. Such distortions not only weaken local deputies' monitoring function and leading role in the solution of national economic questions, but also radically undermine their authority.

Other flaws and errors in the electoral system, which are seriously inhibiting renewal, have come to light during the discussion of the draft new law. For instance, around one-third of the current People's Great Hural deputies ran in rural areas, although they live and work in Ulaanbaatar. Not surprisingly, the latter sometimes do not see their voters for years on end, while the voters have only the vaguest idea of the people whose duty it is to represent their interests in the supreme organ of people's power. The results of a recent check, cited to me by T. Gotob, showed that around 70 percent of the deputies are failing to fully carry out their monitoring duties and 22 percent of them do not even know what a deputy's request is. That would explain why, he remarked, at most 11 percent to 26 percent of the voters turned up at meetings with some candidates in a number of districts.

The new law on elections has been devised with the precise intention of rectifying this situation.

A reduction of the number of People's Great Hural deputies from 370 to 250 is proposed within the framework of the priority measures to create a permanently operating parliament. There are also plans to limit the number of deputies in local hurals to between 25 and 36, and in the Ulaanbaatar city hural to 250. The new draft law on elections envisages the nomination of alternative candidates and, moreover, on both a collective and individual basis. Finally, a detailed procedure has been devised for preparing, organizing, and holding the election campaign and the elections themselves, which rules out diktat by party and state organs.

Essentially the slogan is: "Ensuring sovereignty for the hurals as the political foundation of the state." Beginning the transition from the formation of the foundations of a genuine rule-of-law, rather than formal state rule, through the democratization of elections. This means that the hurals' jurisdiction has to be greatly expanded, their legislative, managerial, and monitoring functions strengthened, and the inefficient somon structure, whereby the leaders of state farms or agricultural associations also head the local organs of power, thus falling between two seats.

Profoundly conscious of the need to fundamentally overhaul the foundations of state law in the republic, the party, it was stated in the main report at the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party's [MPRP] Seventh Plenum, is shaping a situation in which hurals of people's deputies will be the real masters, determining and implementing the comprehensive development of their localities.

Of course, the law on elections is only the first step on the path of implementing the priority measures to improve the entire political system of Mongolian society. Moreover, when it is being carried out it must be closely linked to perestroyka processes in the economy and in other spheres of socialist building. But the radical move toward the revival of the principles of real socialism is inevitable and has already begun here.

The MPRP has embarked on the practical implementation of the proposed concept of radical political reform. This is a vital, crucial task, on which the fate of perestroyka in the republic directly depends. Its solution not only agrees with the mood and needs of the entire Mongolian people, it is in harmony with the tumultuous sociopolitical changes currently taking place in the world of socialism and fully meets the demands of our truly revolutionary era.

MPRP Draft Charter Issued for Discussion

LD0402225890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Today the UNEN newspaper published a draft of the new Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

[MPRP] Charter, which has been issued for public discussion. The draft notes that the MPRP, as society's vanguard, is trying to consolidate all layers of society in the name of building a humanitarian and democratic socialism, while assuring the country's and the people's prosperity.

During the discussion on the draft it is planned to summarize remarks and suggestions from communists and working people, after which the draft will be submitted to the next MPRP Central Committee plenum for ratification.

Aid Workers' Return Would Benefit USSR, Mongolia

*PM1901095590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7*

[Article by A. Semenov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet-Mongolian Friendship Society Central Board: "From the First Peg. 15 January Is the 44th Anniversary of the Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Treaty Between the USSR and Mongolia"]

[Excerpt] Darhan-Moscow—[passage omitted] The Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and Mongolia Through the Year 2000 has been an important stage in the development and deepening of Soviet-Mongolian relations. Characterizing this program, M.S. Gorbachev pointed out that "it is a document of great political significance. Its realization will make it possible to make fuller use of the possibilities and reserves of Soviet-Mongolian ties and to more rationally pool our efforts and experience, our resources and knowledge for the growth of economic potential and the enhancement of the working people's well-being."

The long-term program defines the priority spheres of cooperation. It points out that the development of agriculture, the food industry, light industry, and the mining industry remains the most important strategic task of Soviet aid to Mongolia.

The program provides for joint measures aimed at developing the feed base of livestock raising, increasing the numbers of livestock, and improving its productivity.

In the course of cooperation through the year 2000, measures will be implemented to make the maximum use of Mongolia's national resources within the framework of the international socialist division of labor. The program was subsequently added to and concretized.

I wish to point out with great satisfaction that today Mongolian construction workers themselves are in a position to erect quite complex industrial and other structures using their own resources, and particularly great experience has been accumulated in housing construction. I could see this for myself in Darhan. A production construction association is functioning successfully there, operating a housebuilding combine created with the Soviet Union's assistance. On familiarizing myself with its work, I thought about the fact that the spirit of renewal is making headway in Mongolia, too. The question arises: Is it necessary today to maintain a Soviet general construction trust literally across the road from the aforesaid association?

These two organizations, which belong to different countries, each commission approximately 12,000 square meters of housing a year. At the same time the cost of the apartments built by the Mongolian side is almost half that of its neighbors'. The trust's merger with the association would enable Mongolia to erect more housing and cultural-domestic and industrial projects just by reducing the cost of construction. And Mongolian families would move into hundreds of apartments occupied today by Soviet specialists and their families. The Soviet Union would also benefit from this. The returning Soviet construction workers, of whom we still have a shortage today, would be used in various sectors in the country.

The same situation has also taken shape in Ulaanbaatar, where a Moscow construction trust and a Mongolian one erect housing and other sociocultural and domestic projects. Moscow would say thank you for the return of thousands of construction workers; there is a shortage of them in our capital, and until recently they were being brought in from various parts of the country. At the same time, as is known, there is a manpower surplus in Mongolia today, which will continue. In my view, the resolution of this question brooks no delay.

This is just one proposal for enhancing the efficiency of Soviet-Mongolian cooperation. [passage omitted]

Mongolian Students Want Stalin Monument Removed

*LD0302172290 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1059 GMT 3 Feb 90*

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 3 Feb (TASS)—TASS correspondent Dugar Sanzhiyev reports:

Mongolian students believe the last remaining monument to Stalin in the Mongolian capital should be removed. The Mongolian Union of Students has sent a petition demanding this to the MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee.

The document cites the results of a public opinion poll held the previous day by the youth club "20th Century," in which 88.3 percent of those polled said the monument should be pulled down.

Supreme Soviet Sends Akihito Birthday Greetings

*PM0102152290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent Emperor Akihito of Japan a telegram of congratulations on his birthday, expressing hopes for the further constructive development of Soviet-Japanese relations on the basis of the principles of good-neighborliness and mutually advantageous cooperation in the interests of our countries' peoples and the cause of peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region and throughout the world.

In a reply telegram Akihito expressed gratitude for the congratulations and sent greetings to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Ryzhkov Plans Mid-February Visit to Australia

LD0502142290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Our correspondent Petr Fedorov reports from Australia on the events of the coming week. [passage omitted]

Australia's interest in the Soviet Union is enhanced by the fact that Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, head of the Soviet Government, will visit Australia in mid-February. This is the first visit in the history of relations between our two countries.

Ryzhkov's Upcoming Visit to Thailand Assessed

BK2701131590 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Commentary by Yevgeniy Mikhailov: "General Atmosphere on the Soviet Prime Minister's Visit to Thailand"]

[Text] Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov is scheduled to pay an official visit to Thailand soon. Following is a general assessment of the political atmosphere on the eve of the visit presented by Radio Moscow commentator Yevgeniy Mikhailov:

The Soviet prime minister's visit comes at a time when Bangkok is becoming more and more a hub of political activity. According to a TASS report from Bangkok, Thailand is playing a bigger role in regional politics and is assuming the role of leader with other ASEAN countries. This is partly because the Thai leadership is adopting [words indistinct] stand, an attitude which is constructive for the settlement of the Cambodian problem. Moreover, countries in the West as well as the East realize the total effort made by Thailand in developing its national economy. Thailand hopes to become the center of the ASEAN bloc in shaping politics in Asia and the Pacific.

Thailand is gaining more and more popularity. This can be seen from its political calendar for the first 4 months of this year. Already, French Prime Minister Michel Rocard has visited Thailand. On 11-12 February, the Soviet prime minister will visit Thailand, the first visit by a Soviet prime minister to Thailand in 73 years. Also in February, the foreign ministers of Australia and France will visit Bangkok. In April, it will be Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's turn to visit.

The press in Bangkok considers the visit by the Soviet prime minister to be of special importance. This is easy to understand. It is the Soviet Union which was the origin of all the reform movements now sweeping East Europe. [Words indistinct], politics and other movements in the Soviet Union played an important role in shaping trends and initiating momentum in those changes [words indistinct]. The changes in the Soviet Union and East Europe are factors for political developments worldwide [words indistinct]. This naturally affects politics in Asia and the Pacific region as well.

The moves made by the Soviet Union, both militarily and politically, such as the pullout of most of its combat forces from Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay not long ago, contributed to the building of mutual trust, and will open up new opportunities for expanded relations between the Soviet Union, the countries in East Europe, and the ASEAN countries. Thai businessmen may wonder whether their trade partners will be able to adopt a reformed practice in trade with foreign countries [words indistinct], and to what extent the market economy reforms in those countries will give them business opportunities.

It is widely expected in Bangkok that the Soviet prime minister's visit will provide an answer to these questions. Generally speaking, this visit should contribute to talks between the Soviet Union and Thailand, a country in Asia and the Pacific—the region which will determine the course of politics in the new decade. It is believed that with Thailand and the Soviet Union trying to promote mutual understanding as well as trade relations, positive contributions to shaping the international scene in the new decade will come out of these talks.

'Changes' Prompt Visit

BK0502152390 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Commentary by Valentin Pavlov]

[Text] Dear listeners: As all of you know, Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov will pay an official visit to Thailand soon. This will be the first visit to Thailand by a Soviet prime minister. Radio Moscow commentator Valentin Pavlov assesses the importance of this visit:

The upcoming visit of the Soviet prime minister to Thailand is a result of the important political changes occurring in the world currently. The tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States have eased. Both sides have held regular talks on important world political issues, creating conditions for a brightened world political atmosphere. [Words indistinct] caused positive changes in the Asia-Pacific political situation and also caused the Soviet Union to become closer to the ASEAN countries. Since the end of the 19th century, the Soviet Union and Thailand have narrowed the gap between their views on both world and regional political issues. One of these issues is the Cambodian problem. One should not forget Thailand's role in Cambodia, which shows its good intentions toward this issue. The Soviet Union is pleased with Prime Minister General Chatchai Chunhawan's idea of turning the Indochinese battlefield into a marketplace. Thailand has tried to implement this idea. Recently, Foreign Minister Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila expressed Thailand's readiness to cooperate with Vietnam and to discontinue the policy of isolating Vietnam even though the Cambodian issue has not yet been settled. In recent years, efforts have been made to improve relations with Laos along the principle of good-neighborliness.

Regarding Soviet-Thai cooperation, Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov's visit to Thailand will help create a positive atmosphere. It is expected that both sides will discuss cooperation in the scientific and cultural fields. According to the planned schedule, the Soviet prime minister will meet Thai businessmen, which is appropriate because at this time both sides are trying to find ways to expand bilateral economic and trade contacts. Both sides also have to extend their trade agreements for another period because they expired last year.

To review, during the first half of 1989 Thailand's exports to the Soviet Union were estimated at about 5 billion baht. Major Thai exports were sugar and tapioca, while most Thai imports from the Soviet Union included heavy-machinery, paper, and wood—worth about one-billion baht. It is clear that the balance of trade is not very favorable to the Soviet Union. The export structure [words indistinct], especially the exports from Thailand. It would not be wrong to say that such a situation will be resolved in accordance with the steps toward developing trade and bilateral economic relations between the two sides. This responds to the wishes of both countries. However, Thailand is likely to become a newly industrialized country in the near future. Thailand has achieved great success in producing electronic and electrical appliances. Its exports of industrial products have increased continuously. This shows that there are many opportunities for bilateral trade between the two sides. How well this might succeed depends on how the rules and regulations in the economic contacts between the two countries are improved. Both sides view this problem as a mutual responsibility. It is noted that one measure taken by the Soviet Union and Indonesia immediately following the visit to Moscow by Indonesian President Suharto was the improvement of conditions and steps to facilitate business contacts between the two sides. It is known that this problem has been widely discussed in Thailand. Thai businessmen have paid special interest to the establishment of joint venture companies in producing some agricultural products and in processing seafood products. However, [words indistinct] various things still depend on Soviet economic reform. If control of the Soviet market is decentralized, Soviet-Thai trade will benefit.

The schedule for the forthcoming visit to Thailand by Prime Minister Ryzhkov is diverse. I will not predict the results of this visit. However, I wish to add that increased cooperation between the Soviet Union and Thailand will be beneficial to the general political situation in Asia and the Pacific and could lead to more positive results.

U.S. Officials Visit Philippines Prior to Talks

PM0102101690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 90 First Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent D. Kosyrev: "What Is in the Balance?"]

[Text] Manila, 27 Jan—R. Gates, special envoy of U.S. President G. Bush, followed by Arizona Congressman J. Kolbe, and also former Secretary of State G. Shultz—such are the guests who have visited Manila in recent days. The reason is clear: Philippine-American talks on the fate of U.S. military bases, located here since the beginning of the century, are due to start in March or April (the exact date is not yet fixed). What is to be done after 1991, when the period of validity of the agreement on them expires? The talks will be of a preliminary nature, revealing only the parties' intentions, which have not yet been declared precisely. These Washington guests' trips and their secret discussions with the Philippine president, the minister of national defense, and others, are part of the preparation for the talks.

Until recently only Washington's position on the problem of the bases was clear: to keep them for as long a period as possible. The Philippine authorities are torn by conflicting factors. On the one hand, in national-liberal circles the bases are seen as a festering sore, entailing a dependent foreign policy, the presence on a sovereign country's soil of 40,000 foreign servicemen and civilian personnel, and the indirect involvement of the state in conflicts started by Washington in Asia. On the other hand, it is an indisputable fact that the majority of the population would like to keep the bases (66 percent according to the latest poll in Manila, some with and some without reservations). The reasons for this are purely economic: The bases provide work for about 100,000 Filipinos and, furthermore, the country receives American financial aid. Let me add that the aid is principally for the armed forces budget, and their say in politics here is decisive.

But now the picture has become even more complicated, and the complications began in the United States. It seems that this year the Philippines will receive $90 million less in military aid than Washington promised in the interstate agreement. The only known detail of the talks between the authorities here and R. Gates is that Manila demanded that Washington fulfill its commitments.

But Gates, like others, is cautiously inclined. The fact is that Congress is cutting appropriations, and not only to the Philippines. Some American legislators are saying increasingly loudly that today, in an age of rapid changes in Eastern Europe, in an era of lessening international tension, bases abroad are quickly becoming an unnecessary and costly luxury.

Life confirms this point of view all the time. For example, political circles in Manila are excited by news of the reduction in the number of Soviet aircraft and ships at Cam Ranh (SRV). "We recognize the changed conditions in Europe and the rest of the world and are carefully following the superpowers' actions," Foreign Affairs Minister R. Manglapus stated. President C. Aquino also has spoken on this point.

In a word, as time goes on, it is becoming increasingly clear that the bases are becoming an anachronism and must be closed. But when and how? And in this respect what will be the position of both sides at the talks? There is not long to wait.

Envoy Talks to Businessmen About Troop Cuts

HK0302071590 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] The day is not far when Soviet military forces will no longer be found in the Asia-Pacific region. This was the formal announcement of Oleg Sokolov, the Soviet Union's ambassador to Manila, in an address to businessmen.

According to Sokolov, the first step toward this goal is the withdrawal of military aircraft, including the Tu-16 and MiG-23, from Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam. He also explained that this Soviet move is not intended to influence the forthcoming talks between Manila and Washington on the future of U.S. military bases in the Philippines. The military bases treaty is due to expire in 1991.

Instead, Sokolov said the move is part of the USSR's policy to reduce its aerial force overseas, including that in the Asia-Pacific region.

U.S. Bases in Philippines Dubbed AIDS Sources

HK3001035990 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] There is a direct relationship between U.S. military bases in the Philippines and the rampant spread of the dreaded disease AIDS. This is a belief held by the Philippine Congress, especially the upper house, or Senate, Health Committee. A report produced by the committee says that brothels in Olongapo, Zambales, and Angeles, Pampanga, servicing the American military bases at Subic Bay and Clark Field, are the main sources of this fearful disease. The committee also reports that the majority of AIDS victims are very young girls who are in contact with the U.S. servicemen. It is known that out of 110 women showing positive signs of AIDS, 73 of these work in the brothels patronized by U.S. servicemen. At present, over 20,000 U.S. servicemen are based at Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base.

The committee has declared that so long as these military bases remain in the country, the problem of AIDS facing the Philippines will never be overcome.

Significance of Sihanouk's Resignation Debated

PM0502110190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by B. Vinogradov under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Correspondents Comment": "Cambodia: Situation Clarifying"]

[Text] Phnom Penh—Strange as it may seem, Prince Sihanouk's Beijing statement that he is resigning as leader of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and chairman of the National Defense Council was no surprise and provoked little response in the foreign press.

In quite restrained commentaries, the newspapers have noted that this produces no change in the distribution of forces involved in the Cambodian conflict, that Sihanouk's latest departure proves once again that his tenure as opposition leader had only "symbolic significance," and that the opposition's entire policy was dominated and continues to be dominated by the "Khmer Rouge." On the whole, the news was unsensational.

Nonetheless, for a fuller assessment of the events taking place around Cambodia it would be useful to look more closely at Sihanouk's step, following the reasons which forced him to turn down even symbolic posts. In his "final comment," he said he was "offended by the criticism" levied at him by some Western states (meaning France first and foremost) for aiding and abetting the Pol Pot forces. Let us recall that not too long ago the French president pointed to the Hun Sen government as the only force opposing a threatened restoration of the bloody, genocidal regime in that country. Moreover, Francois Mitterrand virtually made Sihanouk understand that he can no longer count on French support as before. In the situation which has taken shape, observers think Sihanouk has chosen the best way for himself, evidently wishing to publicly dissociate himself from the "Khmer Rouge" and maintain his "freedom of action" in the struggle for votes. Now he is planning to run for president in the elections to be organized and held in Cambodia under UN supervision.

Incidentally, returning to the question of the UN role, newspapers note that this aspect, essentially, has become crucial now. Also, it is not just a question of the timing of the appropriate decisions—of when the international control mechanism will come into effect and when the UN peacekeeping forces will be brought in—but also of the opposing sides' attitude to this idea. They now seem specifically committed to supporting the Australian plan, which foresees using the United Nations to settle the conflict according to the "Namibian formula." But the most acute contradictions have emerged between them on the question of participation in the transitional institutions of power, and also of Cambodia's UN seat. As is known, Australia proposes leaving it vacant until a new government is formed.

The opposition turned this down. Hun Sen, the head of the government in Phnom Penh, immediately gave his consent. Furthermore, once again demonstrating flexibility, he proposed a few days ago that in the transitional period the UN seat be given to the interim national council that will be set up from representatives of the two governments—that is, the State of Cambodia and Democratic Kampuchea. Therefore, observers believe, one more weighty contribution has been made toward defining the Australian plan concretely, and that means achieving accord.

At the press conference, Hun Sen laid out in detail the plan he intends to present at the talks in Jakarta. An important factor in this case will be Hun Sen's recognition of the possibility that two administrations can exist on Cambodian territory, operating and governing under UN control and with UN observers.

The dividing lines and spheres of influence between them must be defined on the basis of the inspections carried out by the forces of the international control mechanism. It is also proposed that both these administrations be stripped of the right to issue laws in the territories held, as well as be stripped of the right to put obstacles in each other's way during the preparation for and holding of the elections. But this certainly does not mean, Hun Sen stressed, that we advocate the division of Cambodia. It is necessary only to observe the conditions for the present reconciliation and unification according to the people's freely expressed will. Let the population itself decide what government the country will have.

Near East & South Asia

Shumilin Views Israeli Policy on Soviet Emigres

PM0502162590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 90 p 3

[Special correspondent A. Shumilin dispatch: "Where the Emigre Is To Settle"]

[Text] Tunis—The emigration of persons of Jewish nationality from the USSR is far from a new problem. It is known that a large part of them headed, as a rule, not for Israel but for the West—most frequently, for the United States.

However, the immigration quotas recently revised by the U.S. authorities have reduced—very significantly too—the possibilities of entry there for persons of Jewish nationality who until recently, as is known, enjoyed an advantage in this respect. Thus, there has been a "course correction" directing their flow to Israel.

Gladdened by this circumstance, the Israeli authorities hastened to announce their readiness to accept all emigres. According to their calculations, there are to be no less than 100,000 emigres in the next few years. A gathering of funds for the assumed flow of emigres is being announced among Jewish communities in the diaspora. At least $2 billion will be needed—again, it has been calculated.

And then last week the Israeli premier made a statement which abruptly transformed a humanitarian problem into a political problem. "For the large number of emigres," he said, "a Great Israel is needed." In an instant rumors of the Israeli authorities' intention to settle Soviet immigrants in special settlements on the occupied Arab lands started doing the rounds.

At its extraordinary session at the end of January the Arab League Council adopted a declaration which states in particular: "The compelling of Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel and not to some other country leads to a manifest violation of human rights, particularly man's right to travel." At a meeting with Arab states' ambassadors in Moscow First Deputy Foreign Minister Yu. Vorontsov also voiced the Soviet side's concern. The USSR Foreign Ministry made a corresponding representation to the Israeli authorities, after which Y. Shamir issued a statement from which it follows that Soviet immigrants are free to choose an abode in Israel at their own discretion. At the same time Israeli official organs disseminated information attesting that so far no more than two percent of the total number of immigrants from the USSR have settled in the occupied territories.

Tension in Arab League circles peaked when the Soviet side confirmed its intention to act in accordance with the international documents it signed concerning human rights, rejecting pressure in any form whatever. After all, the Soviet Union does not have the right to decide the question of which state will open its doors to them. Mr. 'Umran, deputy general secretary of the Arab League for political questions, emphasized in conversation with me that the "problem of Soviet emigres" will be examined in the very near future at all inter-Arab political levels, including the possible convening of a conference of Arab heads of state.

Arab Fears Over Jewish Influx Discussed

LD3101172690 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1430 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The increasing number of Jews emigrating from the Soviet Union to Israel has caused concern in the Arab world and a wave of protests came from Arab politicians after Yizhaq Shamir declared that Israel was in dire need of emigrants in order to resettle them in the territories usurped in 1967.

Yasir 'Arafat, speaking in the style which characterizes his language, described the increasing influx of Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union as a catastrophe which threatens the existence of the Arab world. The Saudi newspaper AL-YAWM wrote that Yasir 'Arafat had called on the Arabs to put pressure collectively on the Soviet Union to persuade it not to facilitate the emigration procedures. The Kuwaiti newspaper AL-WATAN, for its part, published an open letter to Mikhail Gorbachev and talked about the seriousness of the situation. King Husayn of Jordan has also expressed his annoyance while Ahmad Khalil, Egypt's former United Nations ambassador, accused the Soviet Union and and United States of conspiring against the Palestinian cause.

However, we must look at the facts. Last year about 12,000 people left the Soviet Union for Israel, 200 of them, that is, less than one percent, settled in the occupied territories. Even if we suppose that a major increase in emigration can be expected this year there is, however, no need for alarm. The issue is not the number of emigrants going to Israel but the way one should look at them, or to be more precise, it is the way one should look in general at the Jewish population in Israel. The Kuwaiti paper AL-QABAS wrote: We must stop imagining that the world (?suports) Palestine. We must return to the principle of the joint Arab struggle which we have abandoned. Such a viewpoint assumes that everyone who goes to Israel is naturally a potential enemy. Thus, 100,000 newcomers means two-thirds of an enemy division, if we take into account the adult males.

If we look at the matter from another angle and abandon the complex of confrontation by assessing the situation from the prospects of a peaceful settlement acceptable to both sides, there will probably be no grounds for alarming and exaggerated predictions. As for the matter of the resettlement of Soviet emigrants in the usurped territories, it be must recalled that officials in the Soviet Union have clearly expressed their viewpoints on this very point. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsev summoned Ari Levin, head of the Israeli consular legation in Moscow, and protested the intention to exploit the emigrants to expel the Palestinians from their lands. He also protested that some Jewish settlers could become an instrument for the implementation of illegal projects which have been denounced by the international community.

As you see, the Soviet Union's position is still that of principle and it is unreasonable to distinguish this position from the international commitments undertaken by the Soviet Union in the field of human rights, including the freedom of movement.

Batyev Comments on Jewish Emigration

NC0202111190 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Interview with analyst Aleksandr Batyev by unidentified announcer from the "On the Waves of Radio Moscow" feature; Batyev speaks in Russian fading into Persian translation]

[Text] [Announcer] The 28 January issue of the TEHRAN TIMES, a newspaper close to the Iranian Foreign Ministry, carried an editorial calling on Moscow to take steps to halt the influx of Soviet Jewish immigrants to the terrorities occupied by Israel. Some Arab countries have also expressed concern over this. We asked our analyst Aleksandr Batyev for his views.

[Batyev] The concern felt by Islamic governments stems from recent remarks by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, who spoke about the need for Israel to hold on to the occupied territories in order to house immigrants from East European countries and the Soviet Union. If these remarks are followed by actual steps, then this policy can only be described as selfish. The Israeli leadership apparently wants to act in such a way that immigrants from East European countries will be placed at the most sensitive point in the Arab-Israeli confrontation and thus become a shield to protect the Israelis. Moreover, the TEHRAN TIMES very correctly writes—and I agree with its opinion—that the Israeli officials overtly intend to use the East European Jews to perpetuate the Israeli presence in the Palestinian territories. It is very clear that such an objective is unrealistic. However, this situation may greatly exacerbate the situation in the Near East.

[Announcer] The Israeli prime minister's remarks have resulted in many allegations that a plot is being hatched against the Palestinian movement and that the Soviet Union is deviating from its former policy on the Near East. What is your opinion on this?

[Batyev] The Soviet Union's principled policy on supporting the just acts by the Palestinian Arabs, and especially supporting the Palestinians' right to establish an independent state, is unchanged, as was shown by its reaction to the remarks by Yitzhaq Shamir and by other Israeli political officials. A strong protest was lodged with the head of the Israeli consulate in Moscow over using those people who leave the Soviet Union to force Palestinians from territories that belong to them and over the endangering of the lives of those people. Moscow believes that such acts by the Israeli leadership may deal a serious blow to the issue of peace in the Near East, thwart the process of normalizing the situation, and threaten the security of all nations in the region including Israel. Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union, explained this to the heads of Arab diplomatic missions when he received them on 29 January.

[Announcer] Does this mean that the Soviet Union will limit the exodus of Jews from the Soviet Union?

[Batyev] No. The Soviet Union's entry and exit laws are being made to conform with international norms which say that anyone can live anywhere he wants. However, I would like to note that these processes became possible under the aegis of greater openness and the increased desire for cooperation and good understanding which are now becoming prevalent in international relations.

We do not want Israel's policy to harm the current favorable changes because, as very correctly pointed out by the TEHRAN TIMES, it is impossible for someone to gain a freedom by infringing on the freedom of others.

Najibullah on Baker-Shevardnadze Talks

LD0502214190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] The coming meeting between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and James Baker, which, among other things is to examine the Afghan issue, is the focus of attention of the Afghan public. Let's listen to what Najibullah, the president of the Republic of Afghanistan, said in an interview granted to Aleksandr Shkirando, our Kabul correspondent.

[Begin Najibullah recording in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] We are, of course, in favor of the coming meeting between Shevardnadze and Baker, especially if it contributes to a rapid settlement of the Afghan problem. In our view, the comprehensive peace plan recently proposed by the Afghan leadership could be a basis or mechanism for such a settlement.

We hope that during the coming meeting the issue of negative symmetry will be comprehensively discussed, which should in fact mean a halt to weapons supplies not only from the USSR and the United States, but by all parties, so that a cease-fire should really come into force, or, in other words, so that combat action should be ended.

We have proposed that this process be started under UN observation, in connection with the fact that an enormous amount of weapons have accumulated on the territory of Afghanistan. In brief, we are in favor of the demilitarization of Afghanistan with international support. Talks are presently continuing with representatives of the opposition at all levels, both with field commanders within and outside the country. A total of approximately 45,000 people on the opposition side are taking part in such talks. As a result of this work, around 40,000 armed members of the opposition have come over to the government side during the year since the withdrawal of Soviet troops. This means that two-thirds of the field commanders have categorically rejected a continuation of combat action. The positive trend is evident. However, the establishment of durable peace depends on many international factors. It is precisely for this reason that Afghans are placing great hopes in the coming meeting between the USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, and U.S. Secretary of State Baker. [end recording]

Shevardnadze Receives Afghan Ambassador

LD0202191790 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Sayed Mohammad Ghulabzoli, Afghan ambassador to the USSR, discussed today a wide range of questions related to Soviet-Afghan relations and a political settlement in Afghanistan.

Shevardnadze specially mentioned the two countries' active cooperation towards a comprehensive political settlement in Afghanistan. He pointed out that the world community favours a peaceful settlement of the Afghan problems, as was reflected in a corresponding resolution by the 44th U.N. General Assembly session.

The role of the United Nations Organization and its secretary general in promoting a dialogue between various forces of Afghanistan is becoming increasingly important. President Najibullah's plan, put forward at the ninth non-aligned, summit conference in Belgrade, provides a good basis for the settlement.

The Afghan ambassador informed Shevardnadze about the military-political situation in Afghanistan. On behalf of the Afghan people, he expressed profound gratitude to the Soviet people for the moral and material support of their efforts to achieve peace in Afghanistan.

Urban on Actions to Release POW's

PM0502150590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Feb 90 First Edition p1

[Report by Captain Third Rank V. Urban, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA parliamentary correspondent: "Difficult Road Home; In the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee"]

[Text] A civilized state cannot leave its citizens in trouble—in whatever part of the globe they are and however difficult this may be. This now primarily applies to our servicemen held prisoner by the Afghan armed opposition. A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation recently in Afghanistan established the approximate number of prisoners of war still alive: 82.

How are they to be returned home? Many Soviet and foreign social organizations, the USSR Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, and the USSR Foreign Ministry are all concerned with the release of our fellow citizens. How can they pool their efforts? In a letter addressed to M.S. Gorbachev, almost 300 parents and close relatives of military servicemen missing in action in the Afghan war suggest forming a special structure in our parliament to coordinate their actions. At the recommendation of the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman, the problems connected with securing the prisoners' release were discussed by the International Affairs Committee.

The session noted that the USSR Supreme Soviet's adoption of a resolution granting amnesty to former military servicemen in the Soviet troop contingent in Afghanistan who had committed crimes created favorable conditions for the return home of prisoners and former prisoners living in different countries. But considerable difficulties still remain. Colonel V.N. Ochirov, deputy chairman of the Committee for Defense and

State Security Questions (a member of the delegation recently in Afghanistan), said this:

"The mujahidin haggle at all levels: They turn prisoners into small change. Representatives of the clergy are the only people to seek mercy. Many of them are now taking part in the work of the commission that has been set up in the Afghan parliament and will help us secure the prisoners' release. The mullahs make direct contact with the opposition field commanders. We have been told, for example of eight people who started families while held prisoner and who now have children and are living by local customs and mores. It seems that many of the prisoners are unaware that we have adopted an amnesty decision. I was able to issue an appeal to the Afghan people, convey the decree to them, and ask for mercy to be shown to our servicemen. I also appealed to their common sense, because you cannot turn people into means of barter and treat them like slaves in a civilized world...."

Colonel Ochirov has proposed setting up a working group of deputies to establish contacts with the Afghan parliamentary commission for the release of Soviet servicemen. The work of the social organization to save the prisoners, which has grown out of the "Nadezhda" People's Committee, was related by its chairman, journalist I.I. Andronov. In particular, he filled in some of the details of the return home of Private Andrey Lopukh and Private Valeriy Prokopchuk. Although the Afghan opposition said that handing over the two soldiers was a goodwill gesture that needed no repayment, everything turned out to be considerably more complicated. The negotiations began in March last year. The following "responsible step" was taken: President Najibullah issued a decree granting amnesty to 25 Pakistanis sentenced in Afghanistan for espionage and terrorist activity, five mujahidin, and three mercenaries from Saudi Arabia. These were the other side's terms. They put it to us like this, Andronov concluded: You meet these conditions, and then come back again for negotiations.

The session was addressed by N.I. Kozyrev, the USSR Foreign Ministry's special envoy. He emphasized that Soviet diplomats are working actively for the prisoners' release, drawing political figures from third countries into cooperation, and helping social organizations trying to assist people in trouble.

Summing up the results of the hearings, A.S. Dzasokhov, acting chairman of the International Affairs Committee, highlighted several proposals which are to be set on a practical footing in the near future. First and foremost, the formation of a special group of deputies in the Commission for the Affairs of Internationalist Servicemen, which will be responsible for matters concerning the prisoners. There is support for the idea of sending special missions to Pakistan and Afghanistan, but first this must be coordinated through diplomatic channels.

Of course, as long as there is a war going on in Afghanistan, rescuing our prisoners of war is extremely difficult. That is why actions at state and public level are important.

Afghan USSR Consulate Staff Caught Smuggling

LD3101114990 Klaipeda Maritime Press Service in Russian 0000 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Staff at Uzbekistan's Committee for State Security have put a stop to the criminal activity of several members of staff at the USSR Consulate General in Afghanistan and a number of people from the Soviet border town of Termez, who had for a long time been smuggling drugs, antiques and other goods. Khatskevich, a driver at the Consulate, made nine trips, during which he secretly took 520 gold rings; passed on to him by accomplices Avlikulov, Karimov and Karimshakov who live in Termez, across the border of the USSR. Around 37 kg of drugs and over 1,500 meters of cloth were smuggled out of Afghanistan by the same route. They were all given long prison sentences and had their property confiscated.

Mulushin, the consul general, abused his position and illegally took 205 meters of cloth across the State border out of Afghanistan into the USSR. He also had with him in his car several ancient Afghan sabres. These antiques are a national treasure and, naturally, are not intended for export. Because the diplomat is ill he has not yet been indicted.

Babkin, a consul at the Consulate General, who illegally took brocade cloth across the state border, was let off with a caution. With the prosecutor's consent, the investigation considered the fact that he returned to the state treasury the money he gained from selling the cloth, that he freely repented and that he is of pensionable age, and released Babkin from criminal responsibiity.

Special Mideast Envoy Tunisia Visit Summarized

LD0302100690 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Tunis February 3 TASS—Gennadiy Tarasov, assistant to the Soviet foreign minister and special envoy on Middle East affairs, stayed here from January 3 to February 2.

He had meetings with Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and other Palestinian leaders.

The development of the situation in the Middle East, prospects for headway towards peace in the region, and coordination of the two sides' efforts in getting the Middle East peace process going were discussed.

The Soviet envoy also met Chadli Klibi, secretary-general of the League of Arab States, and Habib ibn Yahia, Tunisian secretary of state for foreign affairs.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Vorontsov Meets With ANC's Nzo in Moscow

*PM0502162190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A. Nzo, general secretary of the African National Congress of South Africa, and J. Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, were in Moscow on a working visit from 30 January to 2 February. Talks were held with Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and K.N. Brutents, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department.

The South African comrades gave information about the situation in South Africa. The Soviet side reaffirmed its solidarity with the just struggle of the ANC and all South African patriotic forces to eliminate apartheid and create a democratic nonracist state.

Kenyan President's Visit to U.S. Reported

*EA2801090490 Moscow International Service
in Swahili 1730 GMT 27 Jan 90*

[Text] President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya left for the United States on 27 January on an official visit. President Moi will be the official guest of Congress at the annual meeting of political leaders and businessmen from various countries. Journalists in the Kenyan capital say that during his meeting with U.S. congressmen, bilateral relations and the conditions of U.S-Kenyan agreements, including the continuation of the U.S. naval base in Mombasa, are among the topics to be discussed. U.S. aircraft carriers make regular visits to Mombasa port. The meeting in the United States is also expected to be attended by Burundian President Pierre Buyoya and Ugandan Government officials.

Ethiopian Minister's Visit to Egypt Discussed

*EA0502132590 Moscow International Service
in Somali 1600 GMT 4 Feb 90*

[From the "East Africa and the Past Week" program]

[Text] The Ethiopian Government's recent decision to reestablish diplomatic relations severed with the Israeli Government 16 years ago is now presenting the government with problems in the Arab world. While visiting Egypt this week, Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Minister Tesfaye Dinka was forced to make an official statement on this issue.

Tesfaye Dinka rejected reports that have spread and which are circulating that the agreement between the two countries includes Israel's exclusive use of two Ethiopia islands in the Red Sea. The minister added that such lies were being spread to spark confrontation between Ethiopia and the Arab world. He also said that the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and Israel was not against the interests of any other party whatsoever. Tesfaye Dinka also was compelled to reject recent reports published in Britain that Israel would assist Ethiopia in the construction of several dams. This report greatly worried Egypt, whose population depends on the waters of the River Nile.

East Europe

Newspapers Preview Final PZPR Congress

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 25 Jan

*PM3001142790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 25 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3*

[Dispatch by APN correspondent V. Masterov for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Will They Succeed in Preserving Unity? Last Polish United Workers Party Congress Begins Work 27 January"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Guided by concern for the fate of the country, the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) Central Committee Politburo has appealed to the Polish Republic's constitutional authorities to use the resources at the state's disposal to guarantee the safety of the work of the 11th PZPR Congress and the constituent congress of the new party, which will be taking part in the reformist changes and will be one of the guarantors of these changes.

One person "in great demand" at the moment in the PZPR Central Committee is Jan Bistyga, the press spokesman I have already mentioned. We talked about how a survey conducted in the party organization showed that most Communists are in favor of transforming the PZPR into a new party with a new program, statute, and name. Moreover, with regard to the name, of the more than 70 different names proposed 3 come up more often than any of the rest: the Socialist Party of Poland, the Social Democratic Party of Poland, and the Polish Labor Party.

"We are facing a threat to socialism and the party. I think this is a unifying factor," Jan Bistyga said. "We are doing everything possible to prevent a split in the party before the congress. If the congress forms leading bodies which are going to respect pluralism of thinking—and I must point out that our movement's Achilles heel has been its intolerance of different viewpoints—then only reckless political gamblers will have any interest in a split. I would like to say that the majority of party members are not interested in a split."

"What, in your view, does a party of left-wing forces need in order to regain society's trust?"

"In the past 40 years or so, a lot of resentment has built up against our party. The good things are forgotten, but the bad things leave scars. Usually, the bad aspects are the work of specific individuals. The party can regain the people's trust by focusing its policies on resolving three problems. The first is to protect parliamentary democracy and counteract any manifestations of dictatorship and monopolism. The second is to protect socialist achievements in the economy and protect the interests of the working class and all working people. And the third is to protect the values common to all mankind."

"What CPSU experience could your new party take on board?"

"I think that the most vital element is restructuring in the Soviet Union, the 'Gorbachev factor,' and Gorbachev's words to the effect that every party must answer for itself. In this connection, I can confidently say that there would not have been any changes in Poland or anywhere else for that matter if it had not been for CPSU experience. At the same time, I do realize that we are a kind of testing ground for other parties, the CPSU included. The most important thing in this respect is not to explain what should be done but to explain what should not be done. I believe that in the world of politics experience of what should not be done is more important than experience of what should be done. It is not always possible to repeat success but, on the other hand, there is a possibility to avoid mistakes."

The PZPR currently has just over two million members. If, as predicted, only one in four were to speak out in favor of a new party, 500,000 members would be sufficient potential in comparison, say, with the strong West European social democratic parties. It is another matter that here, where people speak with irony of "real socialism," you increasingly often hear the question: But is it possible to change your views and work style in a short space of time?

The chairman of the PZPR Deputies' Club [Deputatskiy Klub], M. Orzechowski, believes that identifying members of the present party and its sympathisers with all left-wing forces is tantamount to deviating from the truth. Consequently, he continued, we should really be talking about creating a strong, modern party—but a party that is one of many. W. Wisniewski, a spokesman for the Working People's Movement, stressed that a new party is needed but that they should not sever what was good about the PZPR. T. Nalecz, a member of the "8 July Movement," is decisive in his views: "We must call a spade a spade and say that the PZPR and the previous system of administration are to blame for the present crisis. Solutions to the impasse in which the party now finds itself must be sought on the basis of this fundamental premise." L. Miller, a member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, said at a meeting with journalists that he sees personal ambitions as the main danger to the party.

Regarding the contenders for the role of leaders of the future party, the choice is as broad as the range of opinions given above. There are M. Rakowski, T. Fiszbach, L. Miller, and several other names which are now being mentioned with some certainty.

What is still uncertain, however, is what is going to happen at the congress, or, to be more precise, at the constituent congress. Some are pointing out that some of the present party leaders have turned in the direction of reforms, democratization, agreements, and legalization of the opposition. Others are deciding in advance that it would be a tragedy if the party were to come away from the congress with a new program but the old leadership. Others are calling for a social democratic bloc, while another group says categorically that there will be "no compromise." In M. Rakowski's opinion, the future party must be a party of the Polish people and of Polish state interests.

No matter how that may come about, it is hard not to agree with the opinion of Z. Slomkowski, a journalist with TRYBUNA LUDU: "The new party—regardless of its name and irrespective of the degree to which it moves away from the past—is still going to remain in public opinion as the successor of the PZPR for some time to come."

PRAVDA 27 Jan

PM2901143590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by special correspondents A. Starukhin and M. Tretyakov: "Left and Right, 'Ice' and 'Fire': PZPR's 11th Congress, Completing Its Activity, Opens in Poland Today"]

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Jan—Can a two-million-strong association retire quietly into history, bequeathing something to someone? If so, who will carry out this bequest? Who will, at any rate, inherit the best on offer so as to enter the future on that basis as a creator?

A discussion is being conducted in roughly this vein.

If the PZPR disbands itself—if the party, which has played the dominant political role in Poland for over four decades, has run out of steam—trends will be activated or aroused in the country—trends which not only lay claim to its "role" but even demand the transfer of its property. The seizure of the buildings of PZPR voivodship and city committees have become more frequent throughout the country, particularly in the run-up to the 11th Congress. It is not even worth mentioning the committees of plants and institutions; they are simply being thrown out on the pretext of "depoliticizing" labor collectives.

We make a telephone call.

"Is that the administration of the 'Warszawa' high-quality steel plant?"

"Yes."

"Can I speak to the director, Jerzy Trzesniewski (a former PZPR Central Committee member), please?"

"He was dismissed two days back."

"Could you put me through to the party committee?"

"Unfortunately, the party committee has been evicted from the enterprise."

In Katowice, Krakow, Bialystok, Tarnobrzeg, and other places the premises of PZPR committees are being taken over without any request or agreement, documents and property sometimes being unceremoniously chucked out onto the street and destroyed. Newspaper reports abound with headlines along the lines of "Extremist youths have seized PZPR committee building," "Regarding PZPR property...."

Are these everyday provocations or a graphically expressed impatience or even of plans to take, without waiting for the appointed hour, what belonged to the PZPR or even to deprive its succcessor, the new party, of a material base? Let it try not to revive itself in some form, people are saying, but to start from zero, "from scratch."

It would be pointless to enumerate all the "fighting solidarities" and "federations" today; they are too numerous. The essential point of what is happening, however, is important; they are unceremoniously erasing everything that goes down to the to the credit of Polish society itself and which has indisputably helped it create a host of permanent values.

Perhaps indeed the PZPR is "unloved" here. And you cannot make someone love you. But in actual fact that is hardly the way it is, if only because the party (and this has been shown by the extensive precongress debates) is heterogeneous and is ready to take note of and rectify many mistakes.

It regards its last congress as the first congress of a new party uniting all the left political forces of Poland, a party organically absorbing the best democratic sources of life.

The PZPR Central Committee and party leaders have naturally not been quiet or passive in this situation. To put two million party cards on the table tomorrow would in no way mean that they could not be replaced by the documents of a newly created mass organization. Each day party leaders have held several meetings with people in worker collectives and with the intelligentsia in various cities and villages and in different corners of the republic. Rakowski, Miller, Fiszbach, Orzechowski, Kwasniewski. The first secretary holds in his hands a program aimed at radically renovating the party and taking over the best traditions of the left-wing national movements.

The 8 July Movement, the Working People's Movement, and Pulse are offering an even more radical platform, and the PZPR deputies' parliamentary club is advancing its own ideas. An uncompromising struggle has been waged and is now, to put it plainly, coming to an end.

But this is an alternative struggle on virtually a single platform of the left—the general thrust of the country's left-wing forces. This does not betoken disorder, even less confusion in its natural form. It is rather a desire to create an party on an ideal socialist basis. And this is already a sign of a high degree of responsibility and potential strength.

As far as the property is concerned, forget it, as they say. Let the present government recognize it as belonging to "nobody" or "the whole nation." Although, as PZPR press spokesman Jan Bistyga, said at a recent press conference, "I paid part of my monthly salary to build the Voivodship committee premises in Katowice."

Regarding ideas, the PZPR deputies' club considers that its platform "provides political balance" and that it is always ready to argue against attempts to artificially separate the achievements of the PZPR from the achievements of the Polish people themselves.

Tomorrow's new party, in the opinion of the approximately 170 club representatives, should at the same time meet the "international standards of socialist parties." The club brings its own program to the congress, and if on the second day, at the organizational congress, a party corresponding to this program is set up, it will then go on to fight for the leadership in that political organization. As T. Fiszbach has said, we intend to restore to health the components of our present party rather than "amputate" any of them.

The meeting between Fiszbach—who is currently a member of the PZPR and deputy marshal of the Sejm—with L. Walensa, chairman of the independent trade union Solidarity, has provoked discussion in political and journalistic circles. Was it an attempt to seek support from this leader who now enjoys authority? The deputy himself made plain to journalists that it was not so much an attempt to feel approval as a search for a rapprochement of views, for the opportunity to unite the well-known forces of the left with the left trade union wing. Yes, it was clearly far from being a step toward an oversimplified summarizing of the concepts of 'ice' and 'fire.'

And here is another stance. The PZPR Central Committee Politburo issued a statement shortly before the congress in response to attacks and provocations directed against the party. Governed by concern for the country's fate, it assured people that the new party will be the coauthor and guarantor of reformist transformations in Poland. In short, the party which is being newly formed is being created, by all accounts, in the crucible of fierce but essentially positive struggle, amidst doubt and reflection.

We go to the Warsaw party committee. A meeting between 11th Party Congress delegates and M.

Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, was under way there. Judging by the flushed faces of participants in the meeting and the heated arguments that continued in the foyer of the hall during the recess, the discussion was of a fundamental kind and concerned the PZPR's future. What are the delegates' opinions? Let us try to summarize them.

It is painful, of course, to give up the party's name, but there is no other way. The PZPR bears the burden of mistakes and failures in developing the state and it must divest itself of it. The main thing now is to restore society's trust in the party. That is a difficult task. And every party member bears responsibility here. It is essential, while operating under conditions of the parliamentary system, to draw up an alternative, effective economic program in parallel to the Mazowiecki government program. When speaking about socialism it necessary to remind people about needy families, those who in the present-day realities of Poland find themselves excluded from prosperity. The main thing is social justice. And it has to be fought for.

A report on fulfillment of the decisions of the 10th PZPR Congress, on the activity of the PZPR Central Control and Auditing Commission between congresses, and on the draft documents concerning the program declaration and the statutes of the party of left-wing forces that is being created and its future actions in the political, socioeconomic, and international spheres has been submitted to the party forum.

Thus one party is leaving the arena of life while another declares its entry.

IZVESTIYA 27 Jan

PM3001100990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by Special Correspondents Yu. Orlik and L. Toporkov: "Who Gains From This? On the Eve of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) Congress"]

[Text] Warsaw—As usual, everything connected with the PZPR and its future, which is to be resolved by the 11th Congress opening 27 January, arouses keen interest in Poland.

People are letting their emotions get the better of them. Some want to settle scores with the party: Others, disapproving of the present government's policy and its harsh economic program, which they believe divides society into rich and poor, are demanding that the party not give up but continue to struggle within the framework of the existing party structures. Yet others advocate radical transformations in the party and furthermore the creation of a new left-wing party which would not carry the compromising burden of the communists' past sins and mistakes and would base its course on different ideological values, social democratic ones, for example. It is believed that this PZPR Congress will mark the beginning of such a party.

In the run-up to the PZPR Congress the party's leading figures have held a large number of meetings with party activists, sympathizers, and non-party people. This was an open and honest discussion on the theme of the day. What is the situation in Poland like now? Addressing congressional delegates from the eastern voivodships in Lublin, PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Rakowski noted that right-wing forces are going all-out to cast themselves in the best light while creating the most unfavorable impression of the PZPR as being to blame for the "wasted" postwar decades. And thereby the PZPR is also blamed for the current social tension which has occurred during the implementation of the new government's policy.

In Warsaw Sejm deputies from the PZPR met with a large group of at the capital's inhabitants at the Alternatywa Club. Here is a comment made at the meeting by, incidentally, a non-party man: "Why do you do so little to counteract anti-Soviet propaganda and the clericalism that is swamping us? They are saying that we, the people, have done nothing in the past 45 years. But take the example of my mother, who taught illiterate people who were the legacy of the Poland of the Sanacja era [reference to Pilsudski's reform program post-1926]."

It is impossible not to feel a sense of bitterness when you read the letter sent by veterans and former members of the Kosciuszko division, veterans of the Polish Army's 1st Division formed on USSR territory. Now matter how difficult the material situation is today, the veterans living on a modest pension write, it isn't that aspect of life which is distressing but the void which is being created around us. If anyone remembers us at all it is only with insults and contempt, the most tactful term being "that rabble from the East." We are preparing to mark the 45th anniversary of Poland's liberation from the German occupiers' yoke. But, we remind the deputies of the Sejm and Senate, it was not some mythical beings which liberated Warsaw, Krakow, Wroclaw, Szczecin, Kolobrzeg, and Gdansk and raised the red and white border posts along the Odra and the Nysa. It was that "rabble from the East" who shed their blood for those cities and the new Western border.

Of course, the veterans note, you have to write about the sufferings of the victims of exile and deportation and the experiences in the camps. However, they stress, it was the former Kosciuszko division members who experienced personally Stalin's methods of terror before they donned Polish uniforms at Seltsy near Ryazan. They fought for Poland in the ranks of the people's army and did not spend time debating whether there should be a crowned eagle on the coat of arms or not. The people have far more important things to do than that.

The nearer the opening of the PZPR Congress, the keener the onslaughts and attacks on the party. Recently a large group of Sejm deputies from the Citizens' Parliamentary Club submitted a draft law on the "Nationalization of the PZPR's assets," including its printing press. Commenting on this right-wing move, TRYBUNA LUDU describes it as an extraordinarily dangerous step for the fate of Polish democracy and an abuse of newly won power. It is not just a question of property here. If the new law is adopted, the paper writes, this will mark the end of the brief period of democracy in Poland and will open the way to political revenge-taking and the persecution of all who created the Polish People's Republic.

In this situation some people are already dispensing with the Sejm's sanction. Groups of young people from all kinds of extremist groupings have become specialists in the occupation and ransacking of the premises of PZPR voivodship, city, and plant committees. Lawlessness is being created in a state which calls itself the rule of law. You cannot fight for democracy by committing violence against it.

The party has already placed a lot of premises at the disposal of the local authorities. As it has said on a number of occasions that it is ready to cooperate with government organs in reviewing the register of its real estate and of sharing it with the state. The new party, considerably smaller numerically, will no longer need such a powerfully developed material base. But right now, on the eve of the congress, some people want to kindle anti-party feelings in society, create tension, and hinder the birth of the new party.

As is well known, on 24 January the PZPR Central Committee Politburo issued a special statement in which it resolutely condemned the propaganda war against the party and the urge for expropriation. The party asked the country's constitutional authorities to ensure security during the sittings of the 11th PZPR Congress and the founding congress of the new left-wing party which is planned to follow it.

The PZPR Congress is beginning work in this artificially inflamed hostile atmosphere. As people here note, this atmosphere is being used to divert public attention from everyday problems and the rise in the cost of living which is proving intolerable to millions of people. All over Warsaw you can see posters urging young people to go to the Palace of Science and Culture on Saturday, the opening day of the party congress, to stage a noisy demonstration against the "reds" and hinder the work of the congress. The next report will describe how events are developing.

PZPR's Miller Discusses Opposing Opinions

90UI0328A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 27 Jan 90 p 3

[Interview with Leszek Miller, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and member of the Politburo, by Jan Tichocki of the Polish Interpress Agency for RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA: "Poland's Interests Are the Main Thing"; place and date not given]

[Text] [Tichocki] Two opposing viewpoints stood out strongly in the debate prior to the 11th PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Congress. Some people believe that the party has victoriously withstood the test of time. They believe it has embarked decisively on the path of transformations consonant with the Soviet perestroyka and has initiated social and political renewal and radical economic reforms and that the roundtable with the opposition was organized on its initiative for the purpose of creating the fundamentals of a democratic parliamentary state. Others declare that the PZPR is politically bankrupt and that it itself has brought matters to the point of dismantling socialism in Poland and ceded power to the forces of the right without a fight. How would you comment on these viewpoints?

[Miller] Indeed, there are such opinions. They emanate from different viewpoints on the problem of power. This is the central issue for each political party. I do not share the view that power has been ceded. Rather, we may speak of its transfer. And this pledges the possibility of its return at the will of the public. We are trying to build a system in which there is an opportunity for the alternative nature of power. We will do everything to get back the lost positions. But this can only happen on the path of free democratic elections.

[Tichocki] It was clear even prior to the election of delegates to the 11th Congress that this would be the last congress of the PZPR and that a party of a different type would emerge. What will it represent?

[Miller] Unlike our Hungarian comrades, we were able to resolve many problems prior to the congress, which will, I believe, facilitate it. We took soundings among PZPR members on the theme: What kind of new party should it be? We organized the secret, universal, and direct election of delegates for the first time. In accordance with the wishes of our comrades, we are ending the political period of activity of the PZPR and beginning the period of activity of the new party. The draft program declaration and the provisional rules expressively point out that this party will be based not on the principles of the Third International and will differ fundamentally from the PZPR model. It will renounce many former doctrines, including the dictatorship of the proletariat and democratic centralism. We wish to participate in a multiparty system in which the parties operate on an equal basis. We wish to build in Poland a system of parliamentary democracy and democratic socialism. Thus this should be a socialist party inscribed in a system of parliamentary democracy, a party of the working people.

[Tichocki] The "working people" category does not sound all that precise today. What is the social base of the new party to be?

[Miller] We are counting primarily on the outfits of the state-run enterprises and large plants and factories. I believe that the voices talking about the dying out of the working class are premature.

[Tichocki] The members of the PZPR were able to have their say on the name of the new party prior to the congress. Tell us, please, which party name impresses you personally, and does this correspond to the majority opinion?

[Miller] I am for the Socialist Party of Poland. I believe that this name has the greatest possibilities. Many people believe that the party's name should not contain the word "socialism" since, they say, it evokes bad associations in society. They propose the name "Labor Party" or even more neutral definitions. I, however, believe that the party should have its own ideological character and that it is essential that this be reflected in its name. The party's goal is democratic socialism, and there is no need to hide this.

[Tichocki] Since obtaining your delegate's credentials you have not concealed your intention of being among the leadership of the new party. What will happen if not one but several parties are born at the congress? Or perhaps the specter of division should not be dramatized in this way?

[Miller] I could conceive of such a version. For example, a group of delegates, unhappy with the decisions of the 11th Congress, could create their own political platform. The platform which we are taking to the congress has been approved by 90 percent of the delegates. But personal matters are growing to the level of principal problems. It could happen also that the new party would be accepted by the majority after the congress. Given that new parties with different leaders and slight program differences could emerge alongside it, what kind of influence would this have on the fate of the new party? We in our country do not, unfortunately, have the best experience here: If there are several parties of the left, they will start to fight one another and not the common enemy.

[Tichocki] Unity would seem all the more desirable in that even the emergence of one new party of the left will not balance the center-right and Christian democratic forces. It will be necessary to find opportunities for the creation of a coalition with the left and worker currents primarily in Solidarity. Do you see the possibility of such a coalition emerging?

[Miller] I am absolutely convinced that we need to act in the name of concord. I believe that the creation of a union of forces of leftist leanings is possible. Such an agreement must come; the need for this is not in doubt.

[Tichocki] What do you see as the prospects of the new party's contacts and cooperation with parties in other countries, with the CPSU particularly?

[Miller] The preservation of good relations with the CPSU is for us a fundamental point. The preservation and then expansion of interparty cooperation will be a highly material business. Incidentally, the need for cooperation is emphasized also by spokesmen for the governing camp because, regardless of their trans-Atlantic sympathies, they are aware of the need to maintain the appropriate relations with the neighboring power.

Final Congress Engenders New Polish Party

Shape of New Party Debated

PM3001152990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report by PRAVDA special correspondents A. Starukhin and M. Tretyakov: "Last Congress, First Congress... The Polish 'Left': What Kind of Party?"]

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Jan—Then 11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress was held in Warsaw on 27 January. It was there that the party ceased to exist. The hall became the debating arena of the first congress of the new party—the PZPR's successor.

It was in the Hall of Congresses in the tall building of the Palace of Culture and Sciences, which can be see from any part of the Polish capital, that the PZPR congressional delegates summed up their many years of activity. It is by their collective will and as a result of a joint quest for compromises that the future of the movement of left-wing forces, divided into several currents and platforms, will be formed. In the past two or three decades there has never been an event of this kind that has attracted such keen interest on the part of the public and politicians, statesmen and journalists.

There are 257 accredited foreign journalists at the congress. Although the party's Central Committee made it clear from the outset that the congress would be purely practical and no foreign delegations, indeed no guests at all, were invited. TRYBUNA LUDU and other papers announced prior to the congress that the final congress in the PZPR's 41-year history brings to an end, in the opinion of the majority of its members, the functioning of their party.

At the final press conference before the congress, PZPR Central Committee First Secretary M. Rakowski and Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary L. Miller made the following significant point: Even if serious disagreements emerge at the new party's first congress and a split occurs among representatives of different currents of the "left," it would not be a division between conservative "hardliners" and reformists; it would be an expression of a certain polarity of views among the reformists themselves. There is practically no resistance from the "hardliners" these days and the supporters of the old "proven" forms and methods of party building and activity have long since become a spent force and lost their authority.

The new party—and this is reflected in the political declaration that has been submitted for congress discussion—will be obliged to defend the interests of working people and persistently implement the principles of democracy and social justice.

What did the PZPR bring to its last congress? The answer to this difficult question was contained in the account of the party's activities between congresses, which was circulated among the delegates. Despite massive attacks on the party in the media by various political groups trying to erase the 45-year period of Poland's development along the socialist path and paint a black picture of it for society, the PZPR remains the biggest political force in the country and, the account points out, currently has more than two-million members. In the period between congresses, party membership has fallen by 2.3 percent. It is true that during that time the party has aged somewhat and the average age has risen from 42 to 48.6.

The document draws attention to the fact that a great deal of work has been done to reduce the party apparatus. In the middle of last year there were still as many as 12,382 people in it. On 1 January little more than 7,000 staff remained. There were many innuendos and rumors about party property, even claims that the PZPR allegedly receives large subsidies from the state, has smart buildings, and, as some people here have publicly stated, is virtually living off the people. Is that so?

Prior to 1988, the account reports, the party's income fully covered expenditure. But in the latter half of 1989, when, as a result of the present government's economic policy, prices rose rapidly and inflation was already being called hyperinflation, the party was forced to obtain credit from the state against funds saved by the Central Committee Secretariat. Of the 462 facilities used by the PZPR, 184 were built with its money. The rest, the document says, are the property of the state.

Despite losing its leading role in the country as a result of last year's parliamentary elections, the party has the right and is obliged to participate in implementing progressive economic reforms. At the same time, the party is critical of the unchecked transfer of the national economy to a market economy footing. This step has led to a reduction in the volume of industrial production and supplies of goods to the market and a decline in housing construction. At the same time, incomes are growing rapidly in the private sector, while the living standard of working people employed in the state sector declines.

Although advocating pluralism in the trade union movement, the PZPR failed to arrange cooperation with "Solidarity," primarily because the latter has still not decided what it is: a trade union or a political party. At the same time, the PZPR has collaborated with trade union organizations in the National Trade Union Alliance, which now has over six-million members.

The PZPR has paid a great deal of attention to foreign policy activity. We regard links with the socialist countries' parties, the account notes, as a fundamental factor that stimulates collaboration in all spheres. Cooperation with the CPSU assumed unprecedented dimensions, primarily as a result of the common processes of renewal in Poland and perestroyka in the USSR. The signing of the Declaration on Soviet-Polish Cooperation in the Spheres of Ideology, Science, and Culture was an important stage in the development of interparty links.

The PZPR made a great effort to revive Poland's authority in the international arena.

To be frank, the discussion at the congress was not easy. The fate of a party that had made a considerable mark on the country's history was being decided. But the future of the reformed movement of left-wing forces in Poland is not yet entirely clear.

We are defending not the interests of the PZPR, but the future of all Polish democratic left-wing forces, while remaining aware that pluralism and democracy cannot be established without them. Poland needs left-wing forces. And it is wrong to think that it would be easier to live and run the country without them, PZPR Central Committee first secretary said in his speech.

When considering Polish issues the international situation must not be forgotten. A wave of revolutionary upheavals has swept through central and Eastern Europe in recent months. The people's masses have dealt a crushing blow to the leading groupings and the structures they created, which had rejected any idea of the need for radical reforms. The leaders of these countries did not draw conclusions from the Polish experience. We are following the development of events in the Soviet Union with sympathy and, at the same time, with mounting concern. We hope M. Gorbachev and his supporters will be able to resolve the existing contradictions created by Stalinism. We express full moral and political support for the CPSU.

Talking about the name of the future new party, the thrust of its activities, and its ideological identity, M. Rakowski proposed that it should be the Social Democratic Party of Poland.

Party Split Analyzed

PM3001095790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by special correspondents A. Starukhin and M. Tretyakov: "Poland: A Party Is Born"]

[Text] A new political force has appeared on the political map of Poland. Delegates to the 11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress, held in Warsaw's Palace of Culture and Science yesterday, decided to transform the congress into the constituent congress of the party of Polish left-wing forces.

The PZPR has terminated its existence in practice but, in order to observe all legal formalities associated with the transfer of the party's property to its successor, the delegates deemed it expedient to suspend the PZPR's activity until the new mass organization is finally formed.

The stormy debate on the principles of building the new party was dominated by the opinion that, to begin with, its ideological declaration ought to be adopted. Two alternate names of the party were proposed: The Social Democratic Party of Poland and the Social Democratic Party of the Polish Republic. The arguments, on the one hand, clearly showed traces of concern for preserving the monolithic nature of the "left wing" but, on the other hand, the following opinions were also expressed: It is apparently not a matter of unity but of ability to express the working people's interests. A split began to develop at the congress. Some delegates, rallying round the PZPR Parliamentary Group headed by Sejm Deputy Speaker T. Fiszbach, left the hall. They refused to sign the declaration and constituted an action group to create their own party, also along social democratic lines.

Justifying this step, T. Fiszbach declared from the congress rostrum that unity is not a goal in itself. The PZPR had unity but, as is well known, the party failed the test of time. In this leader's view, the new party ought to be primarily a people's party, a patriotic party expressing the interests of Polish working people and advocating Poland's independence and sovereignty. If we were to try to discover any difference between the proclaimed platforms, we would scarcely find any. So what's it all about? What is the root of this disagreement in principle? Evidently the personal ambitions of one of the contenders for the main role. But the overwhelming majority of delegates were in favor of participating in the work of the constituent congress.

Calling for unity among left-wing forces, delegate T. Barbosz from Kielce issued this reminder:

"Working people want the new party to express primarily their interests. This will require a profound and specific program for extricating the country from the crisis right away, not at some time in the distant future. Let us talk about objective facts, casting personal considerations aside."

Such statements were perhaps the most typical at the congress.

The working organs of the congress were formed; its agenda and procedural rules were ratified. The congress continues. Delegates are discussing documents which will finally determine the political look and name of the party being created. It is obvious, however, that not all are interested in seeing the congress proceed in a businesslike, calm, and creative atmosphere. More than 300 myrmidons tried to provoke disorders around the palace yesterday.

One more news item: Instead of the familiar TRYBUNA LUDU, an organ of the PZPR Central Committee, the first issue of a new multipage but tabloid newspaper—TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA—will be published Monday.

Poland's new party is being born in a complex political situation.

New Platform Hammered Out

PM3101153590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 90 Morning Edition p1

[IZVESTIYA special correspondents Yu. Orlik, L. Toporkov dispatch: "Out at Different Doors; At the Constituent Congress of Polish Left-Wing Forces"]

[Text] Warsaw—What many predicted has now actually happened. Not having had time to unite, the left-wing forces which assembled after the 11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress for their constituent congress split off in different directions. Just a few days ago people were voicing the hope that the delegates would leave the conference hall through the same door rather than through different doors, as they say here. But, unfortunately, these hopes were dashed.

On 28 January the formation of the organizational committee of the second party—the Social Democratic Union, in which a leading role is played by Tadeusz Fiszbach—was announced. He had said more than once that if one party were to be formed he would not join it.

Why not? After all, despite the diversity of platforms among left-wing forces, they are united by their social democratic and socialist orientation and their dissociation from the PZPR's ideological legacy and practice. But it seems that there is also something which divides them: biography. T. Fiszbach, an experienced 54-year-old political figure, had a hard time with his native party. In 1981 he was removed from the post of first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee in Gdansk. In his speech to the constituent congress, he said that society will not believe in the instantaneous transformation of yesterday's communists into today's social democrats.

But let us return to the conference hall of the constituent congress, where the statute and program declaration of the new party—which still did not have a name in the small hours of the night—are being discussed. You must agree that this kind of incident is rare, when a party has no name but its statute has been adopted. A group headed by Aleksander Kwasniewski has spent a long time working on the statute. It offers a new organizational structure and new principles of party activity. The party is to be led by a Main Council and Central Executive Committee. Lower-ranking organizations are to be formed on the basis of the territorial principle rather than the workplace principle. The statute provides for the possibility of different platforms coexisting within the party, rejects democratic centralism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, abolishes the practice of a probationary period as a candidate party member, and introduces the category of party sympathizers.

A few words about the chief architect of the statute and the probable leader of the new party. Aleksander Kwasniewski is 36 years old. He has been a very active member of the student movement in the past and was the chief editor of the journal ITD and the newspaper SZTANDAR MLODYCH. He is popular in Poland.

The situation at the constituent congress shows that, despite the withdrawal of T. Fiszbach's group, the desire to preserve unity prevails on the whole. This is illustrated by the following fact at least. A total of 1,402 delegates (out of 1,639) voted in favor of adopting the party statute.

The discussions on the program document and the party's name continued almost until midnight on Sunday. The program declaration was approved by a majority vote. The party is to be given this name: Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland. The Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland program favors the creation of a civil society and rule-of-law state in Poland with parliamentary democracy and a multiparty system. We associate our ideals, it says, with the Polish socialist tradition and the present quest of Polish left-wing forces, and also with the achievements of the Socialist International.

Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland inherits the PZPR's material base.

At an inaugural press conference devoted to the congress' work, in which Leszek Miller took part (43 years of age, a one-time electrician, one of the leaders of the former PZPR, and also a possible candidate for leader of the new party), it was said that representatives of the generation of 30- and 40-year-olds are evidently going to take the helm of the party of left-wing forces.

On the morning of 29 January, instead of their usual TRYBUNA LUDU—the organ of the now defunct PZPR—Polish readers bought its replacement from kiosks—TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA—a newspaper of a different quality. The first issue of the new publication, printed in a smaller format, broadly publishes material from the constituent congress and the farewell PZPR congress.

Fiszbach on 'Price' of Unity

PM0102133990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 90 p 3

[Interview with T. Fiszbach, deputy speaker of Polish Sejm, by correspondents A. Drozdov and V. Shutkevich: "Comrade Deputy Speaker, You Have the Floor. T. Fiszbach, Delegate to the Last Congress of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) and Deputy Speaker of the Polish Sejm Answers Our Correspondents' Questions"; date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Warsaw—We briefly will introduce our interlocutor. Tadeusz Fiszbach is 55 years old. From 1958 until last Sunday he was a member of the PZPR, and from 1975 he worked as first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship Party Committee. When "Solidarity" emerged, he took part in the drafting of the 1980 August Agreements and won a reputation as a resolute champion of political dialogue to find compromise solutions with the opposition.

After the introduction of martial law in the country he fell into disfavor. From 1982 onward he held a diplomatic post in Finland and from 1987 he worked as adviser at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During the election campaign in spring of last year T. Fiszbach won around 6,000 votes and became a deputy of the Polish Sejm and subsequently its deputy speaker. Fiszbach is undoubtedly a most interesting figure among the personalities of the Polish Left, although the attitude toward him on the part of former PZPR members is ambivalent. Some accuse him of excessive sympathies with "Solidarity," and regard him as an apostate. Others associate him with the Polish left-wing forces' hopes to regain public confidence.

[Correspondent] Comrade Fiszbach, of late you have been frequently criticized for striving to split and undermine the unity of the party. What can you reply to your critics?

[Fiszbach] I also favor unity. But not at any price. I put first and foremost the degree of society's confidence in the new party and the party's ability to attract new forces, especially young ones. I do not want to be a prophet of doom, but I am afraid that unless the Polish "left" clearly defines its position, we will not regain confidence.

I stress, what I want is not a split, but a clear demarcation of our stance on key questions of fundamental importance. After all, the present members of the party include both conservatives and reformers, representatives of the old party apparatus, and people who have joined the PZPR only recently. How will the new party differ from the PZPR if they are all in its ranks again? Water and fire are incompatible. I, personally, would think very hard before joining such a party.

[Correspondent] What sort of party do the Polish left-wing forces need today, in your opinion? What should be its nature?

[Fiszbach] First of all it must be a political, rather than an ideological party. In other words, it must not seek to make life fit in with someone's starry-eyed scheme, but defend the interests of the working people with all the means at its disposal. It must instill in them a feeling of social confidence by means of its struggle, work, and program. Most probably this party will absorb certain elements from the programs of European social democracy and the socialist parties of the West, while at the same time remaining essentially Polish in character. I believe that its image will be determined by its attitude to specific issues. Unemployment, for instance. We believe that in Poland it can be used only as a temporary measure necessary to stabilize the economy and must, without fail, be accompanied by effective assistance to the people who will lose their jobs. I believe that this stance will also be reflected in the program of the new party. Or take an issue such as the attitude to ownership. The Socialist Parties of the West strive mainly for a just distribution of material assets. We, on the other hand, will seek to ensure that the working people become co-owners of the means of production—in the state and cooperative sector. Naturally, we will also recognize private ownership, but it must not predominate in society. In short, the program of the new party will have to incorporate the entire positive experience of Polish socialist thought.

[Correspondent] You are a resolute advocate of the new party's dissociation from the past 40 years of the PZPR's work. Does this mean that you totally reject its legacy?

[Fiszbach] Among my acquaintances there were many advocates of a transformation, a refashioning of the PZPR into a new party. In my opinion this kind of re-labeling and repainting of the facade will not produce the desired effect. Most Poles believe that it was precisely the PZPR which has led the country into the economic and political impasse, and they will not lend any credence to a change of face or new promises. They have heard more than enough promises from us...

Therefore I believe that this chapter in our history must be closed once and for all. The new party must not be established on the basis of the old, but truly anew. And its formation has to begin from below, relying on rank-and-file members of the PZPR among whom there are many enterprising and astute people. If the new party must take over something from the legacy of the PZPR, it is primarily these people. Furthermore, it can and must take on board the useful ideas from the party's theoretical treasure-house which for various reasons have not been utilized. I believe that in our quest for answers to many questions we should turn to the legacy of the Polish Socialist Party which stood at the cradle of the rebirth of Polish statehood and whose existence ended in 1948 when it was forcibly incorporated in the Polish Workers Party. Were not, during the first postwar years individual elements of its program implemented, and very successfully at that?

Unfortunately, this did not last for long. The Stalin doctrine gained the upper hand in Poland. However, it is impermissible in my opinion to reject and criticize our postwar history wholesale. Whoever does this, is essentially wiping out the contribution of every Pole to the rebirth of the country. It is necessary objectively and sincerely to evaluate Poland's past decades and to speak openly about their bright, their dark, and their dramatic pages. It is necessary to tell the truth about the explosion of popular enthusiasm in 1956, about the attacks on the intelligentsia in 1968, about the shooting of the Gdansk shipbuilders in 1970, and the powerful workers' protest in 1980 which gave birth to "Solidarity"...

[Correspondent] Incidentally, on the subject of "Solidarity." Your recent meeting with Lech Walesa has led to a lot of false interpretations in the Polish press. Evil tongues have been saying that Tadeusz Fiszbach "has received 'Solidarity's' blessing for the role of leader of the new party." There is also much talk about the possibilities of cooperation between the party and "Solidarity." In your opinion, is it possible to expect that "Solidarity" supporters will begin to join the new party of the Polish "Left?"

[Fiszbach] This is not very likely in the near future, in my opinion. First of all the new party must gain the confidence of society, and for that much hard work will be needed. However, we regard cooperation with all democratic forces, including forces within "Solidarity" not just as desirable, but also necessary.

I saw that it was possible to establish such cooperation back in 1980 when I worked in Gdansk as first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee. It was then that the agreement which gave us a chance to achieve national accord was concluded with representatives of "Solidarity." Both sides are probably partially to blame for the fact that this chance was not used. However, the greater political loss was undoubtedly sustained by the party at that time.

I am not just referring to the decision to introduce martial law. The worst thing was, that after the Ninth PZPR Congress, the party's strength was sapped. In my opinion, doctrinaire, conservative forces took over in its leadership. The advocates of a compromise with "Solidarity" were defeated. Some of them were removed to the periphery of political life, others were expelled from the party, while some resigned from the party themselves. Not until the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, eight years later, did a turn toward August 1980 take place...

As for my most recent meeting with the "Solidarity" chairman, it was not a question of obtaining a "blessing," of course. Walesa did mention my name when he spoke about the fact that he would like to see people who enjoy society's confidence at the head of the new party. If I really have this confidence, then I am prepared to mediate between the left-wing forces.

[Correspondent] We know that during your meeting with the "Solidarity" chairman the question of PZPR assets was also discussed. Will your new party lay claim to them, or do you agree with those who are demanding that these assets be declared national property?

[Fiszbach] I must say that a controversy on this question also took place within the party itself. I took the view that we must voluntarily submit part of the PZPR assets to the state. Naturally, any future party, including ours, must have certain conditions to be able to operate. However, is there any need for party committees to occupy sumptuous premises when there is such an acute shortage of schools, kindergartens, and hospitals in the country? Furthermore, the upkeep of such buildings is very expensive and the party lacks funds.

[Correspondent] And the last question, which we simply must ask, for understandable reasons. How do you envisage the relations between the new party and the CPSU?

[Fiszbach] I recall the following incident. When the nomination of candidates for parliament began, I took a small table out into the street in Gdansk with a pen and a pile of paper and began to collect my compatriots' signatures. Among those who wanted to support me was one of your compatriots who was in Gdansk on a visit. I was surprised and asked him why he wanted to do this, after all, the signature of a citizen of a foreign state would not count in any case. This is what I got to hear in reply: "It is because I am both for Gorbachev and for Fiszbach..."

Seriously speaking, there is much that the changes which are under way in our countries have in common. History has linked us by inseparable ties. I believe that these ties will be preserved in the future. As for mutual relations between both parties and peoples, we would like them to take place not only at the official level, but above all also at the personal level. I believe that the profound reforms within the CPSU will continue, and I wish our friends in the Soviet Union success with all my heart.

SDRP's Future Assessed

PM3101161990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Dispatch by special correspondents Yu. Orlik and L. Toporkov under the "Abroad" rubric: "Freeing Itself of Dogmas and Stereotypes"]

[Text] Warsaw—Another chapter has been written in the book of Polish sociopolitical transformations: The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] has been consigned to history and a new party—the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland [SDRP]—was born at the constituent congress of left-wing forces. The importance of this fact can be properly assessed if you examine it not separately but in conjunction with recent events which have made possible a resolute departure from the futile concepts and practice of "real socialism." And not only in Poland but also in other East European countries.

What does the departure of the PZPR mean? An end has come to the absolute power of a single political force and a system of parliamentary democracy which is close to the West European countries and which has proven its effectiveness is beginning to become firmly established—a system which presupposes the existence of a multiparty structure and free elections. Only a party which enjoys public trust can count on victory at such elections. And winning this trust is not that simple. Nevertheless, the difficulties do not trouble the new party. Without yet having had time to find its feet, it is primarily taking under its wing and protecting the working people and placing social justice above all else. The next important step on the path of the transformations in Polish society will undoubtedly be the "Solidarity" congress and the elections to the local organs of self management. The democratization process may be said to be acquiring the nature of a broad mass movement here.

The most interesting thing in Poland now is perhaps the unfettered nature of thinking and the search for unaccustomed, paradoxical solutions. The following fact seems extraordinarily curious to us in this context. A proposal emanated from the pages of GAZETA WYBORCZA, which is close to government circles: Why not ask Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski, a politician and scholar well known in the United States, to consent to run for President of the Republic of Poland? This idea is now being heard by everybody. And in general it does not seem that heretical. So far only Lech Walesa has been predicted for the post of president in the future but, the GAZETA WYBORCZA item says, he is still young enough to wait until next time. In the meantime, it says, he should use his prestige and influence to support Brzezinzski who, as is well known, is of Polish origin.

We cite this example of "freethinking" to give an idea of the present level of intellectual ferment in Poland and of the removal of all ideological brakes.

In its program documents the new party of left-wing forces, which has assumed social democratic guidelines, defends political pluralism, a multiparty system, and freedom of ideological and political quest. It is open to cooperation with all currents of the left-wing forces and is prepared, while retaining its own face, to be the joint creator of a coalition based on respect for other views and on readiness to compromise on what are the people's main causes and concerns.

The SDRP advocates the use in present conditions of economic principles which have given a good account of themselves in the world: It is in favor of a free market but with elements of state regulation when necessity dictates this; it is in favor of the state's responsibility on social questions; it is in favor of a multilevel economy and the gradual replacement of state ownership with public ownership, assuming the most diverse forms. The SDRP sees the need to develop the private sector but it discards the dogma according to which only private ownership accords with the logic of a market economy and only private ownership ensures the highest labor productivity. The main thing is that the labor collectives themselves should decide how they will work, the direction in which to transform ownership, and how to manage production. The SDRP supports equal rights for all sectors of agriculture.

We do not agree to unemployment as a permanent element of the economic mechanism, the SDRP program declaration says. The right to work is an inalienable human right.

The party program also has an international section. It advocates mutually advantageous relations of partnership with allies, the radical restructuring of CEMA's activity, and a gradual change in the functions of the Warsaw Pact. Acknowledging the inviolability of postwar borders, the SDRP supports the idea of building an "all-European home," considering it necessary to develop cooperation with the EC. The party has expressed itself in favor of expanding contacts with the Socialist International, which it would like to join.

On familiarizing ourselves with this section of the program, while welcoming the party's desire to promote the development of modern political culture, we could not help thinking how it is sometimes precisely this culture which is lacking and how there is a lack of the tolerance about which so much is being said here. Increasingly frequently we note bitterly the manifestation of anti-Sovietism in Poland. One recent example is the attack by people hostile toward the USSR on the Soviet Consulate in Krakow, the invasion of its territory, and the pogrom organized there. We would like to hope that the new left-wing party will do everything to counter dangerous trends.

The birth of a new party is an event of enormous importance, especially of a party like the SDRP. Some people imagine it as a modified PZPR—berries from the same field, as they say. Nothing could be further from the truth. The burden of the past does not hang over the party; it has not yet been spoiled by anything. Difficult work and the winning of society's trust lie ahead.

The congress elected Aleksander Kwasniewski chairman of the Main Council and Leszek Miller as general secretary. We have already had an opportunity to present them to our readers.

Gorbachev Issues Greetings to Party Leaders

PM3101152390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

["M. Gorbachev Greets Polish Party Leaders"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] To Comrade Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland Chief Council;

To Comrade Leszek Miller, general secretary of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland Central Executive Committee:

Esteemed Comrades!

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee I cordially congratulate you on your election to supreme posts in the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland.

An inalienable part of Polish sociopolitical life, left-wing forces will undoubtedly contribute to the stable development of friendly Poland along the path of democracy, social justice, and progress.

I wish you success in your activity.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev.

Paper Cites Kwasniewski Letter to Walesa

PM0502113390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Poland: Open Letter to L. Walesa"]

[Text] The Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland [SDRP] arose as a party operating in a system of parliamentary democracy and organized on the basis of democratic principles, A. Kwasniewski, chairman of the SDRP supreme council, stresses in an open letter to L. Walesa, chairman of the Solidarity trade union.

The SDRP leader expressed perplexity at L. Walesa's statements at a press conference in Gdansk in which he in fact refused the SDRP the right to exist, despite the fact that he himself has frequently spoken of himself as a champion of pluralism. A pluralism which gave the right to activity only to those chosen and recommended would be a strange and ugly pluralism, the letter says. Any political movement, any organization can be valuable participants in political life only if they independently take decisions on their program and organizational structure.

The SDRP, the document says, has resolutely rejected violence as an instrument of policy and is not and will not be a state party. It has strictly rejected its Stalinist past and the system of rule created by the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. The SDRP is a new party. No one must be deprived of the right to a new assessment of the situation. We defend the right for the presence in public and political life of all those members of the former PZPR who tried from one day to the next to fulfill their professional and civic commitments as well as possible, A. Kwasniewski writes.

Solidarity's Walesa Previews USSR Visit

PM0102170090 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 4, 28 Jan 90 p 1

[Interview with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by Valeriy Masterov: "Walesa Seeks Goodwill And Reason"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] After receiving an invitation to visit the USSR, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa was interviewed by Valeriy Masterov, MN correspondent in Warsaw.

[Masterov] What do you think of your first official invitation to visit the USSR?

[Walesa] I'm very happy, though I think that it's somewhat late. Your country, the same as ours, is experiencing radical changes, and, as you know, I've been "in reform" since 1980. Therefore, I've got some experience to share, without lecturing, of course. I think the visit must be held quickly but not hastily, because I wish it to help your reforms as well as ours, and that it would help build our common home on hard ground rather than on sand.

[Masterov] The poster "Forge iron, while we have Gorbachev" has just been recognized as the best Polish socio-political poster. Do you agree with such a slogan?

[Walesa] Gorbachev matured in a climate when reforms were already inevitable. I see him as a major politician whose arguments are based on logic and common sense. Gorbachev's appearance provides a chance to build accord between nations and not only between Communist Parties. Such a chance mustn't be lost. I agree with the authors of the poster in this sense.

[Masterov] What subjects would you like to deal with during your forthcoming talks in the USSR?

[Walesa] We're doomed to neighbourliness, but in taking care that it will be good and friendly, we shouldn't pretend as if we've had no past. Since September 17, 1939, the relations between Poland and the USSR have been dominated by one side. The transformations going on in our countries presuppose a new type of relations, including knowing about all the "white spots" of the past, a guarantee of free cultural and tourist exchange, and freedom for relatives to visit each other. All Soviet troops should be removed from Poland as soon as possible. In this especially we need foresight in order to withstand pressure from demagogues in the streets, when such a withdrawal will entail pressure and political losses.

[Masterov] What would you like to wish the Soviet people?

[Walesa] First of all, that everything would serve the reforms and perestroyka. That hot heads maintain common sense and remember how much bitterness and tragedy we've already experienced. We're on the threshold of the 21st century, and therefore only goodwill and reason should decide all our problems.

Anti-Soviet Demonstration in Krakow 1 Feb

LD0202090690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Disturbances have flared up in the Polish city of Krakow once again. On Thursday, extremists organized a mass meeting at a monument to Adam Mickiewicz, and then set off for the police barracks. From there, the crowd moved toward the building of the General Consulate of the USSR, shouting the slogan: Soviets go home! The forces of law and order attempted to restore calm, but were bombarded with stones and Molotov cocktails.

Monument of Lenin Dismantled in Myslowiece

LD3001234790 Moscow TASS in English 2335 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw January 30 TASS—The official PAP news agency reported on Tuesday that a monument to Vladimir Lenin was dismantled in the Silesian town of Myslowiece. The monument was located near the mine that had borne the name of Lenin unil recently.

The dismantling was initiated by deputies to the local town council and members of the confederation of independent Poland. A referendum has shown that the mine collective favoured the dismantling.

Statue of Lenin 'Desecrated' in Poronin

PM3101153790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Lenin Monument Desecrated"]

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Jan—This morning a group of unknown persons dislodged a monument to V.I. Lenin in Poronin from its pedestal using a block and tackle. This monument—a gift from the workers of Leningrad to Poland—was set up in the local Lenin Museum in January 1950.

The local internal affairs directorate has instituted an investigation into the case under the supervision of the regional prosecutor's office.

The hooligans' barbarous sally was preceded by an initiative from the Solidarity-linked citizens' committees in Poronin and Zakopane, which submitted a demand calling for the monument to be removed and for a rural House of Culture to be set up in the museum. The voivodship people's council presidium in the city of Nowy Sacz agreed 25 January to convert the museum, indicating, however, that the question of removing the monument and completely eliminating the museum exceeded the competence of the region's authorities. A meeting of all interested parties was scheduled for 30 January to achieve a compromise solution.

We resolutely dissociate ourselves from what happened today, J. Zacharko, chairman of the citizens' committee in Zakopane, told journalists. We did not endeavor to cause a sensation or bring about excesses. However, he said, several days ago the citizens' committee asked the head of government, T. Mazowiecki, to facilitate the speedy solution of the dispute and warned him of the possibility of "various undesirable acts."

K. Lichnowski, director of the V.I. Lenin Museum in Poronin, announced that the monument will be kept in store pending a final decision on its fate.

Jaruzelski Condemns Anti-Soviet Acts in Poland

LD0102161190 Moscow TASS in English 1544 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw February 1 TASS—The Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski, the government of the country and most of the Polish people condemn the repeated anti-Soviet actions, presidential spokesman for the press said.

The destruction of monuments and even the desecration of Soviet servicemen's graves are acts of vandalism, contrary to political culture and national traditions, the statement said.

The attacks on Soviet missions in Poland grossly violate diplomatic norms. These are crimes, and there is no other interpretation of them.

Such actions offend the patriotic feelings of the Soviet peoples. They may give rise to hostility towards Poland and misunderstandings about current changes in the country. Anti-Soviet excesses are being censured because they are directed against a country where fundamental transformations are under way and the leaders of which have repeatedly demonstrated respect and sympathy for Poland and a desire to develop cooperation on the basis of full independence and sovereignty.

Although these acts are committed by a few groups, they give Polish society a poor reputation. Poland may be viewed as a land of intolerance and low political culture.

The president expressed confidence that the national dignity and culture so frequently displayed by Poles throughout their history will quickly end to these acts.

Havel Rejects Brzezinski Idea of Confederation

PM3001152690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Interview With the Czechoslovak President"]

[Text] Prague, 27 Jan—CSSR President V. Havel, having returned from a visit to Poland and Hungary, gave a short interview to Czechoslovak journalists. In particular he stated that in both countries he encountered understanding on the part of their representatives on all the questions discussed. It became clear that Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary have very close positions, the president said. During the talks we managed to agree on all the finer points and reach decisions acceptable to everyone.

Answering a question on what he thinks about a Czechoslovak-Polish confederation, advocated by Z. Brzezinski, V. Havel stated that the way efforts are coordinated between two peoples should be chosen by those peoples themselves. With all respect to Mr. Brzezinski I do not think that the peoples of both countries are bound to take any sort of steps just because an American adviser suggests they do this, the Czechoslovak president emphasized.

Albanian Unrest on Both Sides of SFRY Border

PM3001100790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 90 p 3

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Khlystun: "Unrest in Albania"]

[Text] Belgrade—Four more Albanian citizens have crossed the border between Yugoslavia and Albania. In the republic of Montenegro the refugees immediately surrendered to the authorities. Two of them are workers, the other two students. They all come from the city of Shkoder, where, according to the reports of many international news agencies, disturbances took place 11-14 January. The Yugoslav press is publishing the emigres' testimonies. The Belgrade newspaper VECERNJE NOVOSTI, for instance, reports that during the demonstrations in Shkoder more than 50 people were arrested and dispatched to Tirana.

The influential Yugoslav newspaper POLITIKA concludes from everything that has been said by the refugees that Ramiz Alia is currently making certain concessions to meet the demands of the people and to defuse tension. According to the refugees' claims, however, the mood which currently reigns among young Albanians may lead to an explosion in society.

There are refugees from the Yugoslav side, too. Several days ago the local television carried a reportage on young Yugoslavs of Albanian origin crossing the border with Albania at sections where it runs through the Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Meanwhile, there has been unrest in Kosovo, too, of late. Three days ago demonstrations were staged in Pristina, the capital of the autonomous province, during which plans to hold a general strike were announced unless the current leadership of the province is replaced and other demands of the demonstrators met. In recent days demonstrations have been staged in a number of cities in Kosovo during the day and late into the night, and their participants were in a very aggressive mood. In the city of Pec barricades from which militiamen were subjected to a hail of stones even went up in the streets. Pistol shots were also heard. The demonstrators broke a number of store windows. The militia was forced to use weapons. There are casualties.

West Europe

FRG Ambassador Received at Foreign Ministry

PM0202154590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, received Klaus Blech, FRG ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request 31 January.

FRG Conversion Experts Visit Moscow

PM0502161390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A working meeting on conversion questions was held in Moscow 1-2 February between CPSU and FRG Social Democratic Party experts. G. Weisskirchen, FRG Bundestag deputy, and other FRG representatives had meetings and talks with V.M. Falin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and at economic departments and scientific and manufacturing organizations.

Vorontsov Receives French Ambassador

LD0102234290 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS - Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, and Jean-Marie Merillon, French ambassador to the USSR, discussed here today a number of topical international problems, specifically concerning prospects for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem. The French ambassador was received by Vorontsov at his request.

Sitaryan Receives Spanish Transport Minister

PM0102143590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has received J. Barrionuevo, Spanish minister of transport, tourism, and communications.

They discussed questions of further developing tourist links along with USSR-Spanish economic and industrial cooperation.

J. Cuenca, Spanish ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Petrovskiy Receives Norwegian Ambassador

LD3101174290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1245 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jan (TASS)—Today USSR deputy foreign minister Vladimir Petrovskiy received Olav Bucher-Johannessen, Norwegian ambassador in Moscow, at the latter's request. They discussed the development of dialogue between the USSR and Norway with respect to international problems, as well as cooperation on ecology, including in the context of the upcoming European regional meeting on the environment, steady development in Bergen, and the 1992 UN conference in Brasilia.

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuba Wants UN Council To Review U.S. 'Piracy'

LD0502220390 Moscow TASS in English 2139 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] New York February 5 TASS—Cuba has requested the convening of the U.N. Security Council to "examine the question of hostile actions and an armed attack committed by the coastal defence forces of the United States of America against the Cuban commercial vessel in the waters of the Gulf of Mexico."

Cuba's chief delegate at the United Nations Ricardo Alarcon in his letter to the Security Council president said: "The fact that the U.S. Government is pursuing a policy of obstructing free navigation in international waters and attempting armed attacks at peaceful trading vessels with a view to sinking them, not only constitutes a gross violation of the norms of international law and peaceful coexistence of states, but is also an act of piracy which poses a threat to international peace and security."

Today the Security Council will hold consultations at which Cuba's request will be discussed.

Soviet Ambassador on Trade Relations With Cuba

PY2701180490 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0130 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] The following is an excerpt of an interview granted by Yuriy Petrov, the Soviet ambassador to Cuba, that was published in the latest issue of CUBA magazine in Russian. The Soviet diplomat granted this interview to CUBA magazine correspondent (Violeta Carvajal).

Answering (Carvajal's) question on how he would assess the summit meeting held in Havana in April 1989, Petrov reasserted his previous statement that this was a historic summit that goes beyond bilateral relations. Petrov has noted that the time that has elpased since Gorbachev's visit to Cuba has confirmed this. According to Comrade Fidel, the frank and cordial conversations held between Soviet and Cuban leaders and delegations and the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty that was signed not only endorsed what has been previously achieved but also placed our bilateral relations on [illegible]ew and solid legal basis. Moreover, they contributed to the improvement and strengthening of overall Soviet-Cuban relations and reflected (?the decision) of the two parties to make our cooperation more effective.

Answering a question on Soviet public opinion about Cuba, Yuriy Petrov said: The Cuban people, who are a brave people who love freedom, and the Cuban state and party leaders—particularly Fidel Castro, Raul Castro, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez and many others—have always been invariably liked and deeply respected by the Soviets. Soviet-Cuban intergovernmental relations are based on Marxism-Leninism, the irrevocable principles of the international proletariat. All those factors determine the depth and degree of Soviet-Cuban relations. We have never denied that in the 30 years that have elapsed since the revolution, the USSR has supplied and continues to supply its fraternal aid to Cuba to develop and strengthen its economy. But it would be unfair to speak only of Soviet aid, because throughout the years the two countries have increased multilateral cooperation that is mutually beneficial to them. It is no secret that by supplying much merchandise to Cuba, the Soviet Union receives over 30 percent of the sugar that is consumed in the Soviet Union. Moreover, the USSR receives from Cuba almost half of the citrus fruits that are consumed in our country, as well as [word indistinct], tobacco, (?electronic products), and other merchandise. These supplies increase year by year, but we make a joint effort to achieve balanced trade relations.

I categorically disagree with those who state that Soviet aid to Cuba is like throwing money down the drain. In the past 30 years, the Cuban economy has developed substantially. Many social problems characteristic of developing counties have been solved. In addition, there are still large (?areas where) cooperation can be increased. But there are still defects that must be overcome. This is why we are making a joint effort to search for [word indistinct] so that the results of Soviet-Cuban cooperation can increasingly contribute to the improvement of the well-being of our peoples.

(Carvajal) asked: Soviet relations are very important for Cubans. To what degree are relations with Cuba important to the Soviet Union?

Yuriy Petrov said: Cuban feelings are sincerely reciprocated among the Soviet people. Evidence of this can be seen everywhere. We believe that Cubans are true and sincere friends. This is fundamental. I am firmly convinced that our attitude towards Cuba relies on deep human and moral feelings rather than on material factors. This is why friendship and solidarity with Cuba does not depend on circumstancial developments. Soviets value their strong and lasting friendship with Cuba. We will make every effort so that Soviet-Cuban friendship is strengthened and bilateral cooperation increases. This principle was once again reasserted during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit.

Further on Petrov Interview

PY2701211090 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0130 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Hello friends: We invite you to listen to the second part of the interview with Soviet Ambassador to Cuba, Yuriy Petrov, with (Violeta Carvajal), CUBA magazine correspondent. The first part of the ambassador's statements published in the [word indistinct] referred magazine, was broadcast last Monday [as heard].

During the interview, Ambassador Yuriy Petrov discussed current Soviet-Cuban relations, and he stressed the importance of the Soviet- Cuban summit that took place in Havana last April.

As for the glasnost policy in the Soviet Union the correspondent asked: Don't you think that the [words indistinct] persons who played an important role in Soviet history may bring distrust and disappointment among the international labor movements?

Yuriy Petrov answered: No, I do not think so. On the contrary, a popular saying states that the bitterest truth is better than the sweetest lie. I would like to rectify a wrong belief regarding the history of our motherland, a belief by which personalities who committed mistakes in the past are criticized. We are proud of our history, of what has been done by the former generations who, in inhuman conditions, have turned a backward Russia into an industrial power overcoming all difficulties and fighting fascism. In those days there was everything, there was enthusiasm during the first 15 years, there were [words indistinct] among the Soviets, there were unquestionable achievements. but there were also treason and flagrant distortions of the Socialist ideals. This is true. This is the truth of history.

However, I am deeply convinced that by filling in the blank spaces of our history, in the long run we will strengthen man's faith in the triumph of truth and justice with positive consequences for the education of new generations of Soviet people. I am sure that what we need most today is truth, and only the truth. We need truth to make appropriate evaluations and to prevent (?mistakes) in the future, Petrov stated.

Regarding the Soviet-Cuban relations in various periods of time, Yuriy Petrov said that they have always developed favorably, increasingly strengthening [words indistinct]. I do not think that will happen because [words indistinct] may be better than the other. Friendship and affinity have increased in the past few years between our two peoples. The fraternal links between the Communist Parties of our countries have been strengthened. This guarantees the stability and solidness of our relations.

As for a possible distrust or disappointment for the international labor movement, I would again like to remark that the (?evaluation) of some historic personalities is a different thing. We expect that knowledge of the truth will help all those who wish to deeply and honestly understand everything and our objectives. The main thing is to create a political, legal, and moral mechanism which [words indistinct] what happened in the past. I thus think that our experiences are valuable for the international labor movement. We are pleased to observe that the perestroyka and glasnost policies have increased our national prestige before the international community. An example of this are the results of Gorbachev's visits to Yugoslavia, the PRC, the GDR, France, and of course Cuba, where workers gave him a warm welcome.

[Words indistinct] of the international and internal affairs are conducive to international trust and understanding, [words indistinct] many things can be done. The most important thing is to preserve and consolidate peace and to struggle for all-around disarmament.

We have aired the the second and final part of the interview with Yuriy Petrov, ambassador of the Soviet Union in the Republic of Cuba. The interview was published in the latest issue of the Russian edition of CUBA magazine.

Deputy Premier Abalkin Meets Cuban Ambassador

PM0202154190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Julio Camacho Aguilera, Cuban ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request 31 January.

Castro Thanks Leadership for Greetings

LD3001214390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1542 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 30 Jan (TASS)—A telegram from Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Councils of State and of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, expressing gratitude for the congratulations on the occasion of the 31st anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution, has been received by the CPSU Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the USSR.

Commentary on U.S. 'Interventions' in Region

PY3001130990 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Commentary by Mikhail Mayorov]

[Text] One of the most acute crises in Pan-American relations has arisen over the confrontation with the narcotraffickers. In Latin American capitals, this confrontation is thought to be a pretext for Washington to intervene militarily in the affairs of its neighbors to the south. This is confirmed by Colombia's negative response to the Pentagon's intention to deploy U.S. warships along Colombia's coasts. It can be understood that in the eyes of the Latin Americans, this intention is a none too pleasant reminder of the episodes in the Dominican Republic and Grenada, where U.S. troops showed up.

In these cases, the invasions were not justified by the need to fight drug trafficking. But what is the difference if sovereignty is trampled? How will the dialogue fare between the U.S. vice president and leaders of Latin American countries? Will it be based on the old arguments [words indistinct] effect or will a new one be found? Will the crisis in Pan-American relations be overcome? This will happen, as can be supposed, if the neighbors to the south not only obtain [words indistinct]. It will be a crisis in which the Panamanian episode is the last link in the chain of U.S. interventions and aggressions in the Western Hemisphere.

Central Committee Plenum

Gorbachev Addresses CPSU Plenum 5 Feb

PM0602112390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Feb 90 Second Edition p 1,2

["On the CPSU Central Committee Draft Platform for the 28th Party Congress. M.S. Gorbachev's Report at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum 5 February 1990"]

[Text] Comrades, I think you will agree that we are gathered for a very important plenum, which has been awaited with great interest and impatience by communists and our whole society. The Central Committee has received thousands of letters with proposals and wishes from members of the CPSU and nonparty members, party organizations and committees, from labor collectives, workers and peasants, intelligentsia, scientists, veterans, and our youth. The messages continue to come in. You yourselves have witnessed the gatherings and meetings at which there has been trenchant and committed debate, often from different positions, of the most momentous problems. Their participants also wanted to bring their point of view to the Party Central Committee.

All this, taken together, is a distinctive phenomenon. It reflects the profound changes which have already taken place and are taking place in our society on the roads of perestroyka, in conditions of democratization and glasnost.

The main thing that today concerns communists and all citizens of the country is the destiny of perestroyka, the destiny of the country, and the role of the CPSU at the present, doubtless most crucial stage of **the revolutionary transformations.** Society wants to know the position of the CPSU, and the whole significance of our plenum is defined by this. During its preparations we again **faced the question of the dates for holding the 28th Party Congress.**

In December of last year the Central Committee acknowledged that it was necessary to bring forward the convocation of the congress by half a year. But events are developing at such a rate that this question has to be revisited. Having appraised the whole situation, having examined the appeals from communists and party organizations, the Politburo is submitting for your examination the proposal to hold the 28th CPSU Congress at the end of June-beginning of July of this year. We are convinced that this proposal will be adopted at the Central Committee Plenum. The congress should, in our opinion, be preceded by a full-blooded report-back and election campaign in all links of the party, by broad discussion of the platform and of the drafts of the new rules of the CPSU. During the report-back and elections, urgent cadre questions will be decided and new electoral and party bodies will be formed. This will already mean a quite different situation for the holding of the congress. At the current plenum we are to adopt the draft platform of the CPSU for the congress, and probably in a month's time—preferably in about three weeks' time, no later in any case—we are to assemble once again for a plenum to consider the draft of the new statutes, and to publish it for general discussion.

One might say that preparations for the congress are entering a decisive phase: We must have a clear idea of why it has turned out to be essential to move up the holding of the party congress, and what we see as its main task.

The CPSU has been the initiator of perestroyka, the generator of its concepts and policies. Profound and revolutionary transformations have unfolded in the country on this basis, which have embraced all spheres of life and all strata of the population. The path has been opened to the renewal of society and the revelation of socialism's potential. The party has been able to reflect in its theory and policies the demands of the country, which have come to a head, and the realities of contemporary world development. Rapid changes, which are unusual in their scale and novelty, are taking place within the framework of the perestroyka which has unfolded.

This places increasingly new demands before the state and public institutions and, of course, before the CPSU. In essence, we have now reached a point where the party must enrich its policies in consideration of the changes which have taken place during perestroyka itself, and of the problems which have recently arisen. Delay in this is fraught with lagging behind, and loss of initiative, and would inevitably also affect the CPSU itself and the fate of the revolutionary transformations which it has initiated. By putting the question in this way, the Politburo does not intend to dramatize the situation, or to lend these decisions a tragic nature. In the end, we must be well aware of the times in which we are living and what tasks we are tackling, and we must impart to the draft platform the new dynamic of our struggle. Let us carry out good work on these documents at the Central Committee Plenum.

Nor is it less important to understand that the second aspect of the problem, which also requires that the congress be brought forward, is that the party will be able to fulfil its mission of a political vanguard if it radically restructures itself, if it learns the art of political work in contemporary conditions, if it is able to successfully cooperate with all forces of perestroyka.

A fundamental issue of party renewal is the need to purge ourselves of everything which has linked it with the authoritarian bureaucratic system, which left an imprint not only on work methods, on reciprocal relations within the party, but also upon the ideology, the way of thinking, and concepts of socialism themselves. **The platform says: Our ideal is humane and democratic socialism.**

Expressing the interests of the working class and of all the working people, and relying upon the great legacy of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the CPSU creatively develops socialist ideas as applicable to the contemporary realities, taking account of the entire colossal experience of the 20th century. The platform clearly indicates what we should renounce: The ideological dogmatism which, over decades, has taken root, the obsolete stereotypes of the domestic policies, and the outmoded views of the world revolutionary process and world developments as a whole, everything that led to socialist countries being isolated within the common flow of world civilisation, the understanding of paths of progress as being in the form of constant confrontation with a socially different world.

We reject the notion that it is possible to build socialism according to a previously conceived scheme, one that was to serve as a rigid framework for the live creativity of the masses. Much has been said in our country about the decisive role of the popular masses, however, in reality, this genuinely determinative force of socialist development was held in disregard.

The party's renewal presupposes a fundamental change in its relationship with state and economic bodies; a renunciation of the practice of commanding them and of supplanting their functions. In a society that is renewing itself the party can exist and fulfil its vanguard role only as a democratically acknowledged force. This means that its position should not be enforced through being constitutionally legitimized. The CPSU naturally intends to fight for a position of being a ruling party, but it intends to do this strictly within the framework of the democratic process, renouncing any and all legal and political advantages, putting forward its own program, defending it in discussions, cooperating with other public and political forces, constantly working among the masses, living their interests and needs.

The broad democratization now underway in our society is being accompanied by a growth in political pluralism. Various public and political organizations and movements are emerging.

This process can also lead at some stage to the creation of parties. The CPSU is ready to act with due consideration for these new circumstances, to cooperate and maintain dialogue with all the organizations which base themselves on the USSR Constitution and the social system inherent in it. At the same time, we are openly saying that the CPSU is capable of fulfilling the consolidating, integrating role, and ensuring the progress of perestroyka for the benefit of all people at this crucial time. Renovation of the party presupposes its deep, all-embracing democratization, **the rethinking of the democratic centralism principle, with the accent on democratism and the power of the party masses.** This will facilitate the strengthening of the CPSU as an integral organization, and increase its authority among the people. A major step forward in this respect should be made during the precongress report-back and election campaign, during elections of the delegates to the congress. We consider the numerous demands of the party members—that these should be real elections, in which the decisive role would belong to the communists, the primary party organisations—as being correct.

Comrades, what did we take as a point of departure, what realities do we have in mind while formulating the tasks for the forthcoming period? If we are to talk in the broadest context, then just as enormous potential for progress characterized the present state of our society, so simultaneously, are the dangers real. Both are present. The potential, because the processes of perestroyka continue to develop, releasing the powerful energy of the people. The most important result of perestroyka to date, as the platform states, is the liberation of society, thanks to which millions of Soviet people have acquired civic dignity and are taking the governing of their state into their own hands. Such a tendency will grow, and in the final analysis it contains the pledge of success for all the work which was started by the party. It is far from being the cause for panic. The process of establishing and forming new economic and political structures is under way. This also creates a beneficial atmosphere for activity by the people, and for unfolding and deepening the processes of perestroyka in all spheres of life.

At the same time, in advancing along the road of restructuring, we have seen that the crisis gripping the country is far deeper and more serious than might have been supposed. This explains a great deal of what is happening. Problems and contradictions that have accumulated over decades in the bowels of the social organism have come to the surface. Sadly, this has not happened without errors and mistakes made in the course of restructuring, and this too has made the situation more complex. Social tension and alarm are typical of that situation at present. Elements of apathy and disillusionment have appeared. Such is the contradictory but authentic situation. There is a danger—and the party must take this into account—of adventurists emerging who would try to exploit the difficulties that have arisen and gamble with real problems and the dissatisfaction of the working people. Signs of this danger are evident, and have been so over the past few days.

A certain disorientation and a mood of defeatism and abolitionism [likvidatorstvo] [A term used to describe a revisionist trend in the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party in the years 1907-10 which sought to eliminate the revolutionary illegal party of the proletariat and denied the necessity of revolutionary struggle] are making themselves felt. This is no less a danger, and not only for the party, but for society as a whole. We are already hearing from some that we have moved, as they claim, too abruptly, are raising our hand against the first principle of the system, and that there is, allegedly, no other way out of the difficulties than a return to the old ways. From others, to the contrary, that the reform aimed at opening up the potential of the socialist system is supposedly doomed to failure, and the country's only salvation is capitalization.

It would have been possible not to talk about this had it been a matter merely of abstract theoretical arguments or debates within political circles, but such destructive judgements confuse a good many people as they penetrate society, have a negative effect on the political atmosphere, and prevent the course of the restructuring process being seen in its correct perspective.

We must see that the process of crystallizing the political lines of both the conservative and the left wing radical groupings has of late been accelerated. That, comrades, is why—and I want to stress this once again—a party platform able to provide clear political guidelines and able consolidate all the healthy forces of society around the aims and tasks of revolutionary transformations is vitally necessary.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the **pivot of the program being put forward is the approach to solving the most immediate and strategic tasks of Soviet society by means of the renewal of socialism.**

We remain dedicated to the choice made in October 1917, the socialist idea, but we are coming away from its dogmatic interpretation and refusing to sacrifice people's real interests to schematic constructions. We are setting ourselves the task of implementing, step by step, the principle of social justice, without the least illusions and expectations of a quick miracle. We intend to do this while rejecting prejudices of the past and various ideological taboos, and using everything of value which other societies have in their economic and social field, political life, organization of production and daily life, science and technology, culture, and spiritual and intellectual creativity.

You have probably noticed the specific way in which the platform is constructed. It appeared principally important to us, even in the layout of the material, to show that from now and forever man and his well-being is at the center of party policy, that the successes of progress along the socialist road should, first and foremost, be measured by this criterion. In the platform, the exposition begins with political and socioeconomic rights of the Soviet man—freedom of the individual.

I think, comrades, you will also have noticed that after civil liberties the need to adopt a complex of measures to enrich people's spiritual world and raise society's education and general culture has been stressed. Unfortunately, this development factor has receded into the background in our country and has been viewed almost as a makeweight to figures of industrial growth. We have had to pay the price of seriously lagging behind and we shall go on paying for a long time to come. We came to understand after almost everyone else that in the computer age the most precious capital is knowledge and breadth of horizons and creative imagination. In order to make up what has been lost today we must not begrudge resources for science, education, culture, the arts, all that which ennobles man and at the same time increases his labor productivity.

Together with long-term matters, the draft platform puts forward urgent tasks connected with today's situation in the country. This is of fundamental importance. In 1989 we hoped to reach the peak of crisis development. But recent events have shown that so far no turning point for the better has occurred. The recently published results for economic development last year have once again expressed the contrariness of the processes taking place in the economy. On the one hand, a small amount of growth on a number of indices is observed, and this, despite the considerable losses caused by strikes, ethnic conflicts, a reduction in discipline, and poor management. More food and consumer goods were produced. On the other hand, we see further confusion of the consumer market, a growth in goods shortages and lines, and a weakening of the purchasing power of the ruble. The situation is exacerbated by the activity of dealers in the shadow economy and of criminal elements.

The food situation causes particular acute dissatisfacation among Soviet people. Here we must pose the question in a principled way. We have elaborated an innovative agrarian policy, and we vote for it at the March plenum. We evaluate it as a progressive policy which points a realistic way out of the food crisis. The main thing that the plenum advocated was the lifting of all kinds of restrictions on the utilization of varied forms of management of the land. This conclusion was drawn on the basis of the experience of many collectives. A number of oblasts have managed to virtually eliminate the acuteness of the situation in the food market. Nevertheless, on a country-wide scale, there has been no serious turning point, and the reason is that in the localities, many people are still in thrall to old approaches and methods of management. Yes there is a shortage of resources and equipment. Yes, social transformations do need to be carried out on a different scale and at a different rate. All that is true. But what must be placed at the focus is the restructuring of production relations in the rural areas. The matter is at the moment getting bogged down mainly by the position of our cadres, both in the center and locally. This is already not an economic, but a political question. We must clear away all the barriers from the farmer's road and give him a free hand. That is precisely the way the question is posed in the draft platform.

Food is just part of the problem of normalizing the consumer market, and the draft stresses the importance of a complex of measures to make finances and money circulation healthy, and to strengthen the pourchasing power of the ruble as an urgent task for the coming two years.

True, we have had a discussion as to how expedient it would be to go into specifics on these questions. We are still having a discussion about the party platform and about political landmarks, so is it necessary to repeat what is contained in the government program, which was examined at the Congress of People's Deputies? The directives of principle have, as it were, absorbed these questions. However, they are so acute that people, unable to find definite specifics in them, may be dissatisfied. Therefore, it is worth having an exchange of opinions and stating our positions here on this issue.

It would appear that up until now we have been short on resolve here, and this must be overcome. I am talking in particular about the main missing link, which is the reason why the whole process of economic reform is marking time—the price-fixing system. We must speedily reach a solution to this problem. Moreover, the party is sticking to its principled position: The reform of price-fixing must be carried out in such a way that it does not affect the standard of living of the population, especially those who are less well off.

It is no longer possible to reconcile ourselves further with scandalous manifestations of bad management. Are we right to expect effectiveness from credits which have ridiculously low interest rates? We have interest rates which you will not find anywhere, not in any country of the world. They are such that no one strives to return credits because these interest rates, strictly speaking, change nothing. That is why credits do not work, and the ruble does not work. This will not do. Is it permissible that every year commodity and material stocks in the national economy increase by billions of rubles? Figures of R200-240 billion of above-the-norm stocks at enterprises are already being cited.

Also at this time there are rumblings throughout the country. There is a shortage of resources; more than that, there is a shortage of elementary commodities on the market. In other words, again there is no mechanism which would stimulate enterprises to have as many resources as they need and get rid of the rest.

Can one count on the success of economic reform if protracted construction projects still thrive? We remember with what stubbornness, worthy of better application, the representatives of the State Planning Committee—when the draft plan for 1990 was being discussed—tried to prove that the front of capital construction should not be further reduced. In the past year alone the above-norm total of incompleted construction projects increased by R20 billion, absorbing four-fifths of the growth in national income, and this at a time when the construction materials market is experiencing a colossal hunger, and trade orders, even by modest calculations, have not been satisfied by R3 billion. What is more, we are talking about direct trade turnover and about currency resources among the population.

I could continue this list of unused potential with examples from the sphere of resource-saving, storage and processing of output, utilization of recycled waste material, and so forth. There, the scale of losses is still more striking. It is simply impermissible for such a position to continue. We can rid ourselves of these chronic diseases of our economy only by moving forward, by introducing relations of financial autonomy within the framework of economic reform. Any attempts to somehow urge things forward by means of commands—all that is doomed, comrades. It has not worked for a long time, for decades, and what is more, it will not work now. There must be specific action plans along these directions of work at all levels of running the national economy and in all work collectives.

Comrades, no less than with the position in the economy, our society is concerned with a number of complicated problems which have arisen in the sphere of interethnic relations affecting the future of the Soviet federal state. Here we relied on the platform adopted by the September 1989 plenum on the nationalities question in working on the draft document which we are discussing today. We consider that the platform on the nationalities question can serve as a starting point for transforming our federation. At the same time, we tried to take account of the new things which have appeared in recent times. The precongress platform indicates the possibility and need for a further development of the treaty-based principle of the Soviet federation. Essentially, it is matter of creating the legal conditions which will open up the possibility for the existence of various forms of federal ties. We favor variety, a variegation of structures in national life while observing the integrity and unity of the Soviet state. As I understand it, all of us have recently had the opportunity to reflect seriously on the state of affairs and the processes under way in the area of relations between nationalities. Alongside healthy quests to find how we can disclose the potential of a federation, and what steps need to be taken with these aims, much which has caused great alarm in the country has also been displayed and this cannot remain without due assessment and conclusions. It seems to me that in the party and in society—albeit with great difficulties and not without clashes of views—an understanding is forming of how important it is to act in a balanced and responsible manner in this area. There is an ever-increasing awareness of where separatist, nationalist, and, still more so, extremist slogans and appeals can lead, and how this can turn out for people, for peoples, and for our state as a whole. We must be principled in such matters as the fight against nationalism, chauvinism, and separatism.

Acting in this way one must at the same time understand clearly that the problems that exist in the nationalities sphere are real and not invented. They await solution through perestroyka. The sooner decisions are made to separate the powers of the union and the republics, to strengthen in deed their political and economic independence, to expand the rights of the national autonomies, the sooner the complex of measures aimed at a harmonious development of all languages and cultures is implemented, the faster will people see, in practice, the enormous advantages of the new Soviet federation.

Incidentally, all manner of separatists, chauvinists, and nationalists understand this well, making haste to make use for their own mercenary aims of the growth of peoples' national self- consciousness. The calculation is obvious: To deal a preemptive blow against perestroyka, which threatens to frustrate their far-reaching designs. One must not be naive or a simpleton in these matters.

Recently this demonstrated itself particlarly vividly in the events in Azerbiajan and Armenia. One need hardly set out in detail the whole background of the conflict, the roots of which go back to a distant past. I wish to draw your attention merely on the fundamental aspect of the problem. It is Nagorno-Karabakh that has turned out to be in the center of the conflict. Serious problems have piled up in the economic and cultural development of this autonomous oblast. As you will recall, the Central Committee and the government adopted major measures to have them resolved. One could have counted upon an improvement in the situation. The hope emerged that was not to the liking of certain forces in both republics, and in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] itself, too: Those who find that perestroyka sticks in their gullet, those who fear democratization and glasnost, and those who do not accept the law. I am speaking of the representatives of the shadow economy, this real mafia which fans in every possible way the flames of interethnic strife, putting pressure upon the bodies of state under the slogans of national rebirth.

Of course, it does no credit to the authorities and the party bodies of both republics that, yielding to pressure, they would give up one position after another. Unfortunately, numerous representatives of the intelligentsia of Azerbaijan and Armenia were also unable correctly to evaluate the situation, to understand the real causes of what was taking place and to exert a positive influence on the course of events. Meanwhile, the antiperestroyka, corrupt forces succeeded in seizing control and chanelling the activities of the people who had been confused into a destructive course. I have to say that there has, perhaps, been no question which has received so much attention in Moscow over the past two years as this one.

The position from which the center began was that the conflict around Nagorno Karabakh should be resolved in such a way that there should be no victors and vanquished. Otherwise fresh outbursts of hostility and violence, victims and losses were inevitable. That is how we did act at the moments of the greatest aggravation of the situation. Yet we did not manage to master the course of events. At the end of last year, in the complex situation, the supreme bodies of power of both republics adopted decisions which still further aggravated the situation. Things went so far that the republics found themselves on the verge of the most veritable war between one another. On both sides clashes of armed groups began, along with seizure of weapons, attacks on positions of troops and law and order bodies. The blocking of railways and highways was stepped up. The actions of the pogrom-mounters in Baku were distinguished by their particular cruelty. If the state of emergency had not been introduced, first in Nagorno Karabakh and in certain border districts, and then in Baku, the blood of not tens but of thousands and tens of thousands of people would have been spilled. That is really what is at issue.

The tasks of this plenum do not include a complete analysis of what happened, but already today it should be said that there are no simple explanations and easy solutions here. The main lesson is that all questions of the development of nations and interethnic relations should be tackled through perestroyka, the renewal of society, democratic dialogue. Attempts to act by force, by methods of terror, of intimidation of the people and pressure on the authorities, is the direct road to chaos with all the consequences ensuing therefrom. It is necessary to do everything to exclude the possibility of such a development in any region of the country.

It has become still more obvious, how great and responsible is the role of the party, of the local soviet and state bodies, of our cadres, and of the intelligentsia. It should be made completely clear: He who abandons positions of principle, who gives in to retrogressive tempers, or actually falls under the influence of nationalistic intoxication will find himself overboard as regards political life. It is not only the position of principle of our cadres that is important. Of no less significance is the ability to tackle the practical problems of concern to people. We know with what difficulty and pain the restructuring processes are developing in these two republics. This is one of the reasons why the nationalistic forces managed to entice people to follow them. Here there is something for us, too, to think about. Evidently, the center did not use all its possibilities and authority to exert a more effective influence on the course of perestroyka in the republics, to support its champions.

I have already said that thanks to resolute actions it proved possible to avoid a big tragedy. There was a threat to the safety of many thousands of people. That is the main justificaiton for the decisions which were made. But the fact of the matter, too, is that the nationalistic, anti-Soviet groupings openly attacked the constitutional structure, they were itching to seize power, they wanted to set up not a democracy, by any means, but a dictatorship of crude force and militant nationalism.

In essence, this was an attempt at a violent coup, no more and no less. To this end all the structures were made ready, primarily the military ones. When certain political forces try to flirt with this part of the Azerbaijan People's Front, then that just goes to show what they themselves are after.

We express our condolences to Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Russians, and people of other nationalities who have lost loved ones in these tragic days and have themselves suffered. The party and the Soviet Government will do everything possible to relieve the suffering of refugees and to help them return to normal life.

The soldiers and officers of the Soviet Army and of the Ministry of Internal Affairs internal troops have displayed a high sense of responsibility to the people, courage and endurance, and through this they have prevented an escalation of the bloodshed, saved thousands of lives, and created the conditions for a calming down of the situation in the region. Now it is mainly up to the peoples of the two republics, their party and state leadership. How quickly normal life is to be restored and the state of emergency is to be ended depends upon their actions. Of course, everything possible must be done in order to resolve with greatest speed the problems of Nagorno Karabakh—at any rate, the urgent, paramount ones—and the problems which have emerged around it, with unfailing observance of constitutional principles, including Azerbaijan's integrity.

Comrades, the logic of the struggle for perestroyka has brought us toward fresh major decisions. In the near future, the USSR Supreme Soviet will adopt laws on property, on land, on local self- government and on the local economy, on the tax system, on delineation of the competencies of the union and of the republics, and other fundamental legislative acts.

The second stage of the political reform, embracing the formation of the organs of power in republics and locally, has been launched. The real outlines of the new Soviet federation are beginning to take shape. In essence, new forms for the whole of our political, economic, and public life are coming into being, with a new system of the organs of power, one with the characteristics of profound democratization and development of principles of self-government. Society is indeed transferring to a new qualitative condition. But the processes which the party has consciously evoked and which will, beyond doubt, bring positive fruits are not ensured, as we can already see, against manifestations of instability, weakening of control, and centrifugal tendencies.

It has to be said that this is already being felt in society, evoking in people both an incomprehension of such phenomena and a degree of alarm. The need is now arising, from the point of view of strategic tasks and taking account of present day realities, for a regrouping of forces in the upper echelon of power with the aim of ensuring an enhancement in the dynamism of restructuring processes, and to guarantee their irreversibility in a more lasting manner, while at the same time exerting a restraining influence on destructive tendencies and erecting a barrier against everything which complicates and slows down the renewal of society. What is under discussion are processes in the sphere of the economy and interethnic relations which relate to people's safety, and to order and discipline. It has to be added that this question is already being widely discussed. People welcome what has been done with the aim of increasing the role of legislative bodies, and of delimiting the functions of party and state bodies.

At the same time, clear dissatisfaction is being expressed at the lack of decisive actions where these are needed. The question is being asked about creating the institution of a presidency, with all the requisite plenipotentiary powers to implement the policy of restructuring. The draft platform naturally speaks of this in a concise fashion and merely stresses the need to act immediately. I believe that this problem deserves to be discussed by this Central Committee plenum. We do not have the right to allow perestroyka's development and the implementation of the plans and projects associated with it to be jeopardized.

I am not dwelling now on other questions of political and legal reform which have been set out quite fully—albeit in concentrated form—in the draft platform. They were formulated in the spirit of the 19th All-Union Party Conference decisions and, of course, in view of the experience acquired by our society since then. Democratization and the creation of a rule-of-law state system and a self-governing socialist society are still the main avenue in our development.

Comrades! The draft platform naturally had to mention the international aspect of perestroyka and the contemporary view of the world which determines our foreign policy strategy. The Soviet Union's course in international affairs founded on the new thinking received a mighty boost at the 27th party congress and has acquired a more three-dimensional and concrete form as the nature of our contacts with the outside world has changed and as it has been practically implemented.

The foundations and principles of this policy were set out at the United Nations at the end of 1988. The new foreign policy has been legislatively enshrined in documents from the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet on behalf of the entire people.

The draft platform indicates tasks in all directions of international activity, now and for the foreseeable future. In this way, heading for the 28th congress, we are confirming our innovative, truly restructuring foreign policy. It has received a broad reaction and recognition throughout the world, and has already led to a substantial improvement in the international situation. It is precisely just such a policy which corresponds to our domestic requirements, strengthens the international positions and prestige of the Soviet state, favors the formation of civilized relations throughout the world, and brings humanity closer to a peaceful period in its development. The main thing for us now is to accelerate the disarmament negotiations process, deepen dialogue and mutual understanding at the decisive sectors of international development, facilitate in all ways the expansion and strengthening of the first advance work done in building the European home and, in its framework, perfect alliance relations with the countries of Eastern Europe, which really need this.

Such an approach finds understanding and a movement in response on the part of their new leadership. The draft platform formulates the principled approaches of the CPSU to issues of security and defense, and points out the need to move toward military reform.

I want to touch on one or two aspects of this matter. We intend to continue pursuing disarmament, taking account of the situation forming in the framework of the negotiations. Making a realistic assessment of the international situation, we are taking into consideration both the positive elements of its development and the existing dangers. Yes, the situation in the world has improved in the past few years, but the danger of war still remains. There remain in force far from defensive doctrines and concepts of the United States and NATO. There exist their armies and military budgets. For this reason, we need well-trained and equipped armed forces. Of course, they need perfecting, restructuring. But one must approach a change in the principle of bringing them up to strength, and their structure as a whole, with a great sense of responsibility, in the context of changes in the world situation. In connection with the reductions of troops and weapons being carried out, thoose which are feasible, some questions have arisen.

In particular, fears are being expressed about whether or not this weakens the country's defense capability. Evidently, additional clarification is required, showing that the reduction and reorganization of the armed forces is being effected in strict accordance with the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense, for a reliable defense.

A number of acute social problems have arisen, especially the provision of housing for servicemen and individuals transferred to the reserve or pensioned off, and their resettlement. The Defense Ministry alone is not capable of resolving this. The government has made a number of decisions which, to a certain extent, reduce the acuteness of matters, but evidently a lot still has to be done in order to rid officers and their families of the sense of inadequate social protection which has arisen in recent times. It remains to attain the fulfillment of these decisions. Likewise, it seems to be necessary to prepare and confirm a target program for the social provision of servicemen and members of their families and also officers and ensigns transferred to the reserve.

And yet another serious matter: It relates to the coverage in the mass media of army and fleet life. It should be truthful, respectful with regard to the Soviet Army and the martial business of soldiers and officers. We cannot agree with anti-army propaganda. Our people will not tolerate and will not agree to this. But this does not remove the fact that issues of the functioning of our army should also be the subject of democratic discussion in society.

Comrades, at the start of my speech, I expounded argumentation concerning the reinterpretation of the party's role in society at the current stage of its development, under conditions of restructuring and the delimiting of the functions between party, state, and economic bodies. It was evidently necessary to register the Central Committee's position on this cardinal matter. But in principle, neither can we avoid in the platform those aspects of the party's renewal which relate to its internal restructuring. Without this, it will not be capable of realizing its potential of a vanguard political force in current conditions.

The draft contains a number of proposals on this score. Of course, everything which relates to the party's internal life should be presented in developed form by the rules. Nevertheless, it was necessary to include basic tenets in the platform, too, inasmuch as what is under discussion is the new role of the CPSU. The cornerstone idea of the restructuring of the party itself—I want, comrades, to say this again—consists in securing the authority of the party masses. In this context, we are faced with understanding anew the role of the primary party organizations, where acceptance into the party and leaving it, the use of membership subscriptions, and the implementation of tasks relating to the new role of the party as a political vanguard and much else is concerned.

The role of the municipal and rayon levels has to be interpreted in a new way and their rights significantly expanded. We should introduce changes into the system of forming party bodies at every level that will ensure the decisive word for the communists.

We need a new, effective election mechanism, also laid down in the rules. We have agreed that, after discussion in the commission on party building, proposals in this respect will be passed on to Central Committee members, plenum participants. The future rules should speak clearly about the subordination and accountability of all the elected bodies, from top to bottom, to the communists, and of the apparatus to the elected bodies. For a long time we have been worried by the question of internal party life and its functioning, not allowing CPSU members to take part on a regular, methodical basis in the process of fashioning its policies. Much has been said in this respect. There is no shortage of wishful thinking, as they say. But we have still not thought through to the end precisely what mechanism should be created in order for this idea to be put into practice. This is one of the problems which have to be discussed in the precongress debate in preparing new party rules.

Initially, I would put the question as follows: The communists' influence on the work of the higher bodies, up to and including the Central Committee, to a decisive extent depends on how their ability to put their representatives onto these bodies, those whom they trust, genuine leaders, active champions of perestroyka, is guaranteed in practice. I am convinced that we should suuport the party's most active and well-known progressive workers and peasants being strongly represented on all elected party bodies, including the CPSU Central Committee. Second, glasnost in respect of the activities of the party leadership, including the Central Committee and the bodies which it elects, should be ensured to a greater extent than up until now. Then indeed—paraphrasing Lenin's expression—the communists will be able to know everything and form intelligent opinions on everything, draw conclusions, and make proposals.

I think we are also expanding the communists' real participation in the fashioning of policies by the fact that we are making it possible for party bodies to prepare their own platforms on various problems of social development in the context of this or that region. Things should be done so that the communists have opportunities to participate in practice in the preparation of these documents and their discussion and adoption.

This, of course, does not exhaust the problems of party democracy. Having expressed some ideas, I wanted to draw attention to working on these in depth in the course of the precongress discussion.

The draft platform contains proposals for changing the structure of the top party echelons.

It is, understandably, not a matter of using new terms to attest to one's readiness for renewal. The essence of the proposals is to strengthen the factor of democratism in the upper echelons of the party, in its leading links. At the same time it is to create better conditions for their activity as working collectives.

It could be asked: Why is it actually necessary to reduce the size of the Party Central Committee? Let's discuss this. We based ourselves on the idea primarily of converting the Central Comfntitee into a body working on a permanent basis. One also needs to get away from the predominantly office principle of the formation of the Central Committee, which was essentially an expression of the party- state system of power in the country. As we see it, all this will also promote a strengthenning of the constant links between the Central Committee and the party organizations, since such links will run mainly not via the apparatus, but via the elected members of the Central Committee. Moreover, almost all of them will take part in the work of one or another of its commissions, becoming essentially political figures of all-party rank.

It is appropriate to speak here also of the central party apparatus. It is clear that with the change in the role of the party, an apparatus is needed which is different as regards its qualitative composition. It should, in the literal sense, be the assistant to the Central Committee, acting strictly under its supervision.

The experience of the work of the Central Committee in the past few years prompts the necessity of granting it the right of cooptation. Naturally, with clear statutory restrictions and defined framework. And at the same time, it is proposed in this case to liquidate the institution of candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee.

I am not dwelling on the other questions on the draft platform. The Politburo bases itself on the assumption that by joint effort we will draft a document that will answer the questions of the moment which excite communists and all Soviet people. Thereby the processes of perestroyka in the country will receive a new, powerful, positive impulse.

Presents Platform

LD0502163690 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—In a report to the plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, which opened here today, Mikhail Gorbachev presented the party's draft platform for the forthcoming 28th congress.

Noting that rapid changes, unusual in scope and originality, were taking place within the framework of perestroyka, Gorbachev stressed the need to renew the party, rid it of everything that tied it to the authoritarian-bureaucratic system, a system that left its mark not only on methods of work and relationships within the party, but also on ideology, ways of thinking and notions about socialism.

Gorbachev observed that the party need "to get rid of the ideological dogmatism ingrained during past decades, of outdated stereotypes in domestic policy and outmoded views on the world revolutionary process and world development at a whole."

Noting that the extensive democratisation currently under way in Soviet society is being accompanied by mounting political pluralism, Gorbachev observed that "this process may lead at a certain stage to the establishment of parties."

The Soviet Communist Party, he emphasised, "is prepared to act with due account for these new circumstances, cooperate and conduct a dialogue with all organisations honouring the Soviet constitution and the social system endorsed" in the constitution.

Gorbachev stated that the party "intends to struggle for the status of the ruling party, but will do that strictly within the framework of the democratic process, giving up any legal or political advantages, offering its programme and defending it in discussions, and cooperating with other social and political forces."

Gorbachev described as the core of the proposed platform, the approach towards handling immediate and strategic tasks of society along the tracks of renewing socialism.

He referred in particular to changes in economic relations and the solution of complex problems that emerge in the sphere of inter- ethnic relations and which touch upon the future of the Soviet federated state.

He recalled that the USSR Supreme Soviet will soon adopt laws on ownership, on land, on local self-government, on the tax system, on the delineation of the competence of the union as a whole and of constituent republics.

Presenting the international part of the draft platform, Gorbachev said that the most important thing now is "to advance the disarmament negotiating process, deepen dialogue and mutual understanding at crucial stages of international development, and facilitate in all ways the expansion and consolidation of the first undertakings towards building an all-European home."

He proposed perfecting within its framework "allied relations with East European countries which really need this."

The draft platform proposes changes in the structure of the party hierarchy. Their essence, Gorbachev said, is to "strengthen the factor of democratism at the highest levels and leading links of the party."

He suggested cutting the size of the Party Central Committee and proposed holding the 28th congress "late in June-early in July this year." The congress had been initially scheduled for October this year.

Debate started at the plenary meeting after Gorbachev's report.

Proposes New Date for 28th Congress

LD0502145790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1445 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 5 Feb (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has submitted for the consideration of the plenum of the party Central Committee, which opened today, a proposal that the 28th CPSU congress be held "at the end of June and the beginning of July this year." It was previously planned to hold the congress in October this year.

In his report, Mikhail Gorbachev presented to the participants in the plenum the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the forthcoming forum of communists.

Plenum Issues Communique on 5 Feb Session

LD0502192990 Moscow TASS in English 1923 GMT 5 Feb 90

["Urgent—Communique on Party Plenary Meeting"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee began its regular plenary meeting today.

The following issue was submitted for the plenum's consideration:

On the draft platform of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee for the 28th party congress.

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the party Central committee, made a report on this issue at the plenum.

Taking part in the plenum are first secretaries of the central committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics, territorial, regional and area party committees, presidents of the presidiums of the supreme soviets and chairmen of the councils of ministers of the union republics who are not members of the party's central bodies, a group of first secretaries of city and district party committees, secretaries of party committees of major primary party organisations and heads of ministries, central agencies, artistic unions and organisations, scientists, representatives of the Soviet Armed Forces, mass media bodies, and mine-workers from soem coal-producing regions of the country.

The plenum's materials will be fully published in PRAVDA. Summarised accounts will be carried by other mass media bodies.

The plenum formed an editorial commission to finish the party central committee's draft platform for the 28th party congress and prepare a plenum resolution on the issue under discussion.

The commission held its first session under Gorbachev's chairmanship today.

The party Central Committee's plenum will continue its work on Tuesday.

CPSU Party Plenum Participants Listed

LD0502204790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] On 5 February, a routine plenum of the CPSU Central Committee began work. The following issue was submitted for examination at the plenum: the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th CPSU Congress.

Mikahil Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, gave a report on this issue at the plenum.

Taking part in the plenum's work are: first secretaries of union republic communist party Central Committees, and of kray, oblast, and okrug party committees; chairmen of Union Republic Supreme Soviet Presidiums and Councils of Ministers who are not part of the central CPSU bodies; a group of first secretaries of city and rayon party committees, and secretaries of party committees of major primary party organizations; as well as the heads of ministries; members of the USSR Armed Forces; representatives of the mass media; and miners from certain of the country's coal basins.

Taking part in the morning's debates on the report were:

Korniyenko, first secretary of the Kiev City Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine; Mesyats, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow Obast Committee of the CPSU; Karimov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Yagodin, member of the Central Committee of the CPSU and chairman of the USSR State Committee for People's Education; Arkhipov, secretary of the party committee of the Izhorskiy Zavod production association in Leningrad;

Prokofyev, first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU; Ivanova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Central Committee and deputy chairwoman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Sokolov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia; Fesenko, explosives foreman at the Kochegarka mine of the Artemugol production association of Donetsk Oblast; Vagris, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia; Yeltsin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of Construction and Architecture; Dzasokhov, first secretary of the North Ossetian Oblast committee of the CPSU; Revenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Kiev Oblast Committee of the Ukraine Communist Party; Belousov, minister of the USSR Defense Industry Ministry; Brovikov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to the Polish Republic; Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldvia; Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast and City Committees of the CPSU; Paton, president of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; Shabanov, senior foreman of the Saratov electric unit production association; Mutalibov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan; Platonov, secretary of the party committee of the Lenin Chelyabinskiy Traktornyy Zavod production association; Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Melnikov, secretary of the party committee of Moscow's Lomonosov State University; Knyazyuk, first secretary of the Ivanovo Oblast CPSU Committee; Kovalev, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR; Gubenko, minister of culture of the USSR; and Kozlenkov, secretary of the party committee of the Progress works in Kuybyshev Oblast.

The material from the plenum is being published in full in the newspaper PRAVDA and in accounts in other parts of the mass media.

An Editorial Commission was set up at the plenum for completing work on the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th CPSU Congress and preparing a decision by the plenum on the issue discussed.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee wil continue its work on 6 February. The first sitting of the Editorial Commission on completing work on the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th CPSU Congress was held on 5 February under the chairmanship of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

CPSU Plenum Participants' Speeches

LD0502234190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1927 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Moscow, 5 Feb (TASS)—A regular plenum of the CPSU Central Committee began work here today. The draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th Party Congress was put forward for examination. A report on this issue was given by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

A.I. Korniyenko, first secretary of the Kiev City Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, who opened the debate on the report, read extracts from a letter from Comrade Ignatenko, a worker and Communist from the Kiev Artem production association, sent to M.S. Gorbachev after a mass meetings. "I am a Communist of many years' standing. I ventured to speak from the platform of the meeting, trying in a frank and party-like way to call to reason those taking part. But my voice was drowned by hissing and wild abuse. From all sides could be heard cries and shouts calling for Communists to be destroyed physically. I went through horrors, from which I have not yet been able to recover. What is being done in our distentegrating state? Where are we going? Isn't it time that you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, and the leadership of the country as a whole thought seriously about the destiny of the socialist state and about the destiny of the honest working people, and took the most urgent radical measures before it is too late? God forbid that time should be wasted, and all the gains of socialism, on which much labor has been expended, should be lost. The people will never pardon you for that."

Such opinions, imbued with sincere concern about the fate of socialism in our country, have been heard more and more often in recent times in addresses by ordinary people, the speaker said. Of course, in a majority of cases mistakes and shortcomings in the work of local party and local soviet bodies are the specific grounds for such letters. However, it is worthwhile for every member of the Central Committee, every member of the country's government, and every participant in today's plenum to think about them.

The working people today are making serious complaints to the CPSU Central Committee, to its Politburo, and to local party bodies about mistakes that have been made during the years, even of perestroyka, about insufficient consistency and lack of resolve in the leadership of the processes of perestroyka, and about the lack of a stance on a number of fundamental issues of the development of society. They are waiting for the plenum to answer many questions which we have not been able to answer during the five years of perestroyka that have elapsed.

Describing the draft platform which has been put forward, the speaker noted that the points it contains are innovative in character and correspond to the spirit of our times. This concerns first and foremost the points dealing with democratization and the development of self-management in society, attitudes toward the person, the creation of legal foundations for the protection of the freedonm of the individual, and the assertion of the new thinking in foreign political activity.

At the same time there is much in the draft platform that requires deep analysis and serious further work to be done on it. First, this concerns the section on the renewal of the party. However, in the opinion of the first secretary of the Kiev City Party Committee it looks fragmentary and does not contain an integrated concept for the restructuring of the party. The section should be added to substantially and expanded, and perhaps issued in a separate document.

It was stressed that the fundamental question for the restructuring of the CPSU is that of its place and role in our society, which is renewing itself. Naturally, it is not possible to insure the leading role of the party using some or other constitutional or legislative guarantees. In this sense, the CPSU should legally be on par with other political forces. On the other hand, logic itself and the history of the development of Soviet society have allocated to our party a special position: special not in the sense of a monopoly on power, but in the sense of historical responsibility for the destinies of socialism. There is today no other force that could consistently stand up for socialist ideals. In this connection, disagreement was voiced by the speaker with the draft's basis thesis that the CPSU merely participates in the government of state and public affairs alongside other sociopolitical organizations and movements. On the contrary, it is necessary to fight for its consolidating role in the vanguard of society using every means allowed in a democratic society.

Something disturbing in the platform is the lack of a serious approach to the party's ideological-educational role. Having proclaimed pluralism of opinions, we have a society that is open to all ideological influences and effects, but in these conditions the party should struggle for people's hearts and minds with even greater persistance. Today the question is a key one: Who will take the masses with them philosophically, spiritually, and ideologically? A devaluation of moral values is going on; there is a wave of callousness, crime, and unconstrained behavior. This applies particularly to young people. And what are we doing? We seek salvation in the propaganda of religion. Surely it cannot be that we no longer have any need of Marx, Engels, and Lenin?

It is becoming more and more obvious that the party does not have any integral ideological platform. Communists are posing completely legitimate questions: Why do the party and its Central Committee sometimes take up a defensive position? Why do they not have a clear point of view in the conditions of the pluralism of opinions? Why, when we have vast intellectual potential, do we feel theoretically disarmed? Why do we stubbornly ignore the attempts by our super-radicals to overthrow the leader of the world's first proletarian party from a pedestal he supposedly occupies undeservedly and to declare both Marxism-Leninism and the very idea of socialism unviable? Why do we not give timely political appraisals of the events in the Baltic republics, in Fergana, Tbilisi, and the Transcaucasus? Why are we forever letting others take the initiative?

One also gets the impression that the Central Committee does not have a very clear idea which forces can be relied on at the moment. The draft platform quite correctly sets the task of consolidating society by way of its revolutionary renewal, but it is also quite obvious that we must resolutely distance ourselves from certain forces, and this must be said openly.

The floor is given to V.K. Mesyats, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow Oblast Party Committee. The current Central Committee plenum, the speaker said, is of exceptionally important significance for the CPSU and for the cause of perestroyka. The situation in the country is extremly complex. Conscientious labor, organization, and discipline have now proved to be, as it were, pushed into the background. Everyone is concentrating his attention on how to divide up most cunningly the meagre state budget, deficit food resources and, on occasion, simply unearned incomes. But it is becoming more and more difficult to divide it up. Hence all our conflicts, social tension and manifest distrust of party and soviet organs.

Our society faces a choice: Either it will take the road of destabilization and anarchy, of social tremors, or it will unite all healthy forces and advance along the road of purging deformations and perversions of socialism, achieving its renewal on the basis of the principles of democracy and humanism.

The Moscow Oblast party organization stands for the second road. Following broad discussions in which more than 365,000 communists and nonparty people have taken part, we have set out our position in a program of action for deepening and implementing perestroyka. The oblast party organization has stated firmly that it will adhere robustly to its positions of Marxism-Leninism, and advocate the leading role of the party in society. We are sure that there is no other force or social movement at the present time apart from the CPSU which is capable of uniting the people, or raising it to overcome the difficulties of the transitional period and leading the country out of the crisis situation. Unfortunately, this key provision has not been reflected in the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th congress. In the view of the speaker, it is essential that the document define more precisely the role and place of a renewed party in the construction of a renewed socialist society, since vagueness in the key formulations in the absence of an effective mechanism for their implementation, and given the multitude of the various movements, unions, associations, and fronts, etc. already created, will lead to the party, as such, losing its way and finding itself on the political sidings.

Life insistently demands that the style and methods of party work be radically restructured with due account of the quickly changing situation, that our forces be regrouped, and that the theoretical and practical base be supplemented with new constructive ideas and approaches. The party has constantly to underpin its vanguard role with progressive initiative and real actions that yield results. Without this the CPSU will fail to restore its authority, its leading positions.

The communists of the Moscow region advocate a decisive change in the mutual relations between the upper party committees and the party organizations in the localities, the delegation of more rights to them, a concession of independence in deciding internal party matters concerning admission to and expulsion from the party, improving organizational structures, utilizing party dues, and controlling the activity of the elected organs and their apparatus. But we will be unable appreciably to invigorate internal party life and raise party work to a new qualitative level if we do not decisively oppose the pillorying of party cadres and the belittling of the party's role in perestroyka.

Communists are currently asking bluntly: Why are the CPSU Central Committee and the party committees taking a defensive position, why are they not giving a proper rebuff to demagogues and falsifiers, why do they come to terms with those who carry a party card in their pockets while opposing the party line? The time has come to define our positions precisely and say who is who! Who is really a supporter of perestroyka and who is using glasnost to realize their group political ambitions, to fight for real seizure of power.

The CPSU began and has led perestroyka and should proceed as its vanguard. It is precisely this which the majority of communists require of the Central Committee and of all the leading party bodies. The speaker proposed that a special decision of the plenum be adopted on this question.

Our oblast party organization fully shares the clause in the draft platform that we cannot continue to live as we did prior to April 1985. The present course toward democratization in political, economic, and national relations is justified. Much of what is happening today, comrades, is very similar to the unprecedented outburst of unhealthy passions and to the anarchy which has been skilfully aroused by the leaders of all kinds of antisocialist groupings and alliances. All of this lies heavy on people's consciousness like a powerful psychological press and gives rise to their rightful anger and indignation. I do not know, I might be wrong, but this, comrades, is not the democracy, not the glasnost which was proclaimed by the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenum in the name of and for the benefit of the Soviet people.

Our indecisiveness is being interpreted as weakness and is contributing to an increase in irresponsibility and permissiveness. Things have gone too far. Is this not one of the main reasons why in the last five years we have not achieved in the economy the positive results we expected? The lack of discipline, lack of organization, and violations of production rhythm which have become a reality are not putting more products and goods on the shelves and counters of the shops, are not accelerating the construction of housing and other social amenities, are not improving medical, everyday and community services, and on the whole are not helping the country out of its complex situation. The working people are justifably demanding that effective measures be adopted to impose order and to create a stable situation and a guarantee of social protection and safety of everyday living.

That is why the party must come to the 28th Congress with a clear program for the creation of a truly law-based, truly people's multinational state.

The speaker supported the proposal to bring forward the date of the congress, but, in his opinion, the report-back and election campaign in the party could have begun after the congress.

According to I.A. Karimov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee, the opinion of the overwhelming majority of communists and working people in Uzbekistan today can be formulated unambiguously: We are in favor of a renewed USSR federation in which each republic has its genuine sovereignty and independence; we are in favor of the organizational and ideological unity of a renewed CPSU, the nature of the transformations of which was displayed in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report on the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th Party Congress. At the same time, the extraordinary situations of recent months have clearly shown that if we do not forestall events, and if party organizations in the localities do not tackle problems which have come to a head in good time, then, as a rule, they encounter other problems, and this, in turn, is fraught with unforeseeable consequences.

Recalling that great production potential had been created in Uzbekistan due to the cooperation and mutual assistance of the country's peoples, the speaker noted at the same time that the administrative-command policy dictated by a unitary state structure had led to the fact that the nature of the republic's economy is now too one-sided, with an overemphasis on raw materials, and is not orientated toward the population's needs. For example, a situation where 80-90 percent of basic agricultural production is exported without any processing cannot be considered normal.

The first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee continued: The republic was at one time set the important political-economic task of ensuring that our country was self-sufficient in cotton. This was achieved—something, incidentally, which the country cannot achieve with grain, meat, and other very important agricultural products. As a result the republic's consumption not only of livestock production, but even of fruit and vegetable production, as well as its rural social development, are among the lowest in the country.

While supporting the fundamental tenet put forward in the platform that each republic would, from now, independently determine its own development, the speaker expressed the idea that this tenet would sound declaratory until all the essential conditions had been created in practice for its actual implementation. In his opinion, in the transfer to self-financing and self-administration, virtually no consideration is being taken of the republic's initial position and its socioeconomic base.

Analyzing the part of the CPSU Central Committee platform which indicates the need to strengthen the guarantee of the right to work, the speaker said that the number of unemployed in Uzbekistan is increasing, and has now reached around one million. He spoke in favor of the elaboration of a union program to safeguard people's employment and submitted a proposal that benefits should be legislatively provided for the unemployed which would guarantee them a subsistence wage.

The speaker drew the conclusion that the acceleration of the country's transition to a new economic management and administration machinery is of decisive importance for the fate of perestroyka.

However, in his view, the new economic system, the new economic machinery, unfortunately does not yet have clear outlines. He asked the question: How can one speak of economic independence and self- financing for the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic when the so-called subvention or, to put it more simply, subsidy from the union bugdet has reached—R3 billion this year?

This is neither more nor less than 30 percent of the entire republican budget. Directly linking up with this is another question—about a review of pay for many types of agricultural output, for example, such a leading crop in Central Asia as cotton. The leader of the party organization of Uzbekistan suggested reviewing again the clauses connected with ownership of land and the mineral wealth beneath it. In his view such an oversimplified definition which is given in the draft platform does not meet the sense and spirit of the federation that is being renewed. It will not promote the objective use of natural wealth.

The speaker described as correct the course mapped out in the draft platform for increasing the independence and responsibility of communist parties in the Union republics. Showing support for those proposals which concern the formation of leading bodies of the CPSU, he at the same time came out for the provision of obligatory representation of all communist parties of union republics in equal conditions in central bodies of the CPSU.

Today, as never before, the first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee noted, the party needs clear, firm positions on all principal questions concerning the renewal of our federation and perestroyka in the CPSU. Unfortunately, he continued, clear positions have not been defined in the platform with regard to those who, concealing themselves behind slogans of perestroyka and democracy and using current difficulties and problems, are destablizing the situation today and creating parallel organizational and other structures in order to seize political power.

The CPSU, as the ruling political force, will continue to bear responsibility for the state of affairs in our country. But one needs to realize that the party will not be able to fulfill its destiny as the initiator of perestroyka if it lets the main levers of cadre policy out of its hands. A question arises in connection with this: Is it necessary to declaim in the platform the clause to the effect that leaving the party will not entail any political consequences?

The wisdom of the platform, in the view of G.A. Yagodin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR State Commiteee for Public Education, lies in the fact that it sets no objectives other than common human ones with which it is absolutely impossible not to agree, and at the center of which is humankind, its happiness, and its wellbeing. [passage omitted]

Calling for active support for the platform's idea of the post of president, the speaker noted that collective leadership is fine until it leads to collective irresponsibility. The kind of post, the kind of person should be designated who would take full responsibility for the future of the country and for its present. Of course, one would wish the president to be elected by the whole people in a direct and secret ballot, but we probably do not have time for this now and, perhaps, until a new constitution is adopted, this should be done at the Congress of People's Deputies, while the constitution should definitely and precisely restrict the terms for which people should be elected and designate the mechanism which would regulate the activity of the president, because, for all its briefness, our history is already rich in major errors in this respect.

The clause on the state should be more clearly stipulated in concept. Of course, the USSR is a voluntary formation. And there should be not forced entry to it, only acceptance and acceptance only on the terms of a unionwide agreement. This means that we join together in the Soviet Union because this is to our advantage; to our advantage in resolving such matters as defense, foreign affairs, transportation, the unified power system, and so on. But this is not enough! When we join together in the union, we have to take on certain obligations. Not only are we entering the union, but we are also being accepted into the union. And here too the terms should be precisely stipulated.

What is the main term which should be stipulated? Human rights in a socialist state throughout the territory of the state that are absolutely identical for all without exception!

The second term should be an official state language. The state has few opportunities for consolidation and those which exist should be used.

One other condition is the parity of education througout the territory of the Soviet Union. And, of course, the absolute exclusion of segregation according to nationality in all spheres. Compulsory state programs are needed on problems which demand the special concern of the whole country and which will in practice cement society. [passage omitted]

Today it is not just a question of preparation for the next party congress being discussed; its political destiny is being decided, said Yu.A. Prokofyev, first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU. What is necessary is correctness of position in the aims and means of achieving them. If we do not determine it today, tomorrow will be too late. The party is already catastrophically behind in the processes of democratization and has lagged behing the tempo of renewing society.

Life today has given rise to an unprecedented movement of party members and has aroused communists to an independent quest to rescue the party from its state of crisis. Discussion in the capital's party organization on the role and place of the CPSU in the present-day political system has presented both principled approaches to the restructuring of the party and specific proposals on the content of its program documents. Rich material has also been acquired in other party organizations of the country.

The Central Committee leadership is aware of all this, but the document which has been circulated essentially takes us back two years, to the 19th party conference.

First and foremost, this applies to the section on the party. Its attitude to Article 6 of the USSR Constitution needs to be set out more clearly, and it needs to state clearly that the CPSU is in favor of its being reviewed. It would be proper, on behalf of the plenum to instruct the communist deputies to make corresponding proposals to the legislative body. To continue to drag on with this will merely intensify the negative attitude toward the party.

In our platform, we should, above all, proceed from political realities: Society is already living in conditions of a virtual multiparty system, acute political confrontation, and a fierce struggle for power. There are cohesive forces, opposed to socialism, operating in the country, which are waging a struggle without rules. We must devise a party strategy which fits the moment. We must not delay before the congress in finding a practical solution to questions of extending the rights of primary party organizations, which already in many instances, are being implemented on the spur of the moment: entry into the party and withdrawal from it, the procedures of electing secretaries and members of party committees and buros, and the giving up by primary party organizations of up to 50 percent of members' party contributions. What is needed is not a declaration of the "power of the party masses", but a consolidation of a mechanism guaranteeing the true participation of every communist in working out and adopting party decisions.

A paramout question is that of the election of delegates to the congress. The secretaries of parimary party organisations in Moscow came out in favor of direct, secret elections with more than one delegate and of local party bodies being granted the right to determine for themselves the mechanism of conducting elections. I know that these proposals are in keeping with the mood of communists in many reigons of the country, just as is the initiative to bring forward the 28th congress and to hold it no later than June. I think that this proposal by M.S. Gorbachev should be supported, and it would be expedient to complete the election of deputies in good time so that they may have the opportunity to prepare the appropriate congress documents.

One must, the head of the capital's party organization continued, at last take into account the pressing demands of the communists to reduce and qualitatively renew the apparatus, to give the party committees the right to determine the structure and numbers of the apparatus and its wages independently. A more substantive section on the party's budget is also needed.

The proposals on the shaping of the party's central bodies contain obvious contradictions. If it is proposed that general party conferences should be held in the intervals between congresses, then how is it that the mechanism of cooptation is undemocratic? It is impossible to explain why the supreme leading body for communists of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic is elected by comrades from other union republics.

It can be seen that the document was born, just as before, in the offices of the apparatus. Even at the sessions of the Central Commitee the platform was not discussed beforehand. Instead of taking into account the many thousands of proposals of the party masses, of taking definite stands, general tasks are posed in it, whose solution relates to the indefinite future.

The people are concerned about where we are going. One must not make concessions when it comes to the social protection of the working population. In our platform the exclusion of the exploitation of man by man should be reflected in a very definite form. The interests of the working class, which makes up almost half the party, are not expressed in the appropriate manner in the document. One must not ignore the presence of many trends in the party today. Therefore the issues of issues is the determination of the ideological foundation of the renewed party. Political pluralism is not ideological omnivorousness. The period of flirting has passed. In losing ideological unity, the party is losing its prospects.

The events of the last few months demands of us dynamism, the speaker stressed in conclusion. We should be a party of active action. One should not wish for changes, but should implement them.

Questions concerning the party are under discussion everywhere, but alongside the variety of opinions about what kind of party it should be, the problem of whether the CPSU should exist at all is being thrown up before society ever more persistently and seriously. That is how T.G. Ivanova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Commiteee and deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet

Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium began her speech. Forces which are striving to replace restructuring in the party with restructuring of the party, having in mind, of course, the ideological foundations of its activity, are stepping up their activity, she observed. Despite the variety of views on specific issues linked with preparations for the congress and elections of delegates and the formation of the leading bodes, communists must have a common position. There is a common position. The party will preserve and strengthen its authority only as the party of real action, reflecting the needs of the people, defending its interests and reacting to the tempestuous changes in the situation in society in a timely and sufficient way. The political platform of the CPSU cannot therefore be only a program, revealing long-term or strategic objectives, as it has in the main been drawn up. The platform must also become a mobilizing factor for immediate actions.

In the speaker's opinion the draft platform that has been put forward is aimed at consolidation and creativity. To a considerable extent it reflects people's vital aspirations. But the document lacks something that has been awaited in particular by millions of communists, by all the people: How is the party going to achieve fulfillment of its program directives?

How should the party act under the new conditions? The speaker proposed that specific amplifications should be added to the document—an instruction to communists to find their place in the activity of self-sponsored formations participating constructively in perestroyka, the idea that draft fundamental laws should be discussed in primary party organizations. The speech also proposed that appropriate mandates to people's deputies delegated by the party should be drawn up in the platform. The working out of a variant of the first chapter of the USSR Constitution—"The political system"—with due regard for the principles set out in the platform under discussion could become one such instruction.

A considerable part of the speech was taken up with the problems of the communists of the Russian Federation. It is still difficult for the party people of the republic to implement the democratic principles that have been declared and that are in real terms a part of the life of the CPSU when they do not have a common uniting authority. In the speaker's words, the procedure for electing the Russian Buro of the CPSU Central Committee has not added authority to the Central Committee, but the main thing is that it is difficult to expect that the Buro will be able to become a body which will turn out to be equal in importance to the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics in terms of its influence on party life. The speaker stressed that she realizes the complexity of this problem: In her opinion there must be thorough consultation with communists. She proposed that a Russian conference of the CPSU should be held before the congress, irrespective of the time-scale for holding the congress, at which this issue could also be discussed among other urgent problems. The Russian Buro of the Central Committee could be entrusted with preparing it.

We in the republic often use the terms Communist Party of Belorussia and republican party organmization as synomyns, said Ye. Ye. Sokolov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia. On an everyday level this is explicable. But from the point of view of policy the synonymousness of these concepts can be accepted only with reservations. A new status is needed not by the republican party organization but precisely by the Communist Party of Belorussia. This will invest communists of the republic with a new quality. They will be not simply executors but initiators and creators of policy. And here the powers of the communist party of the republic must be maximum—from the right to decide all organizational-structural, cadre, and financial questions to the adoption of political program documents.

Some people claim that the Communist Party of Belorussia does not need its own progam, because it will repeat the program of the CPSU. Yes, on fundamental questions there can be no divergences. My position is this: I am for autonomy of the communist party of the republics, but against their isolation, against federalism in the CPSU.

At the same time, not to take into consideration the national-historical, political, socioeconomic, and other peculiarities in the development of a particular republic would mean verging on bureaucratic centralism. The speaker proposed writing in the draft platform: "The communist parties of the republics can have their own programs and also other political documents." As for the party rules, in his opinion they must be the same for all communists of the country.

The draft platform represents broadly enough the directions of democratization of the party, enabling it to be transformed into an organization developing dialectically, a dynamic, self-renewing party. But some provisions, in the speaker's opinion, lack concreteness. In particular, it speaks in a general way about rules and procedures which would enable the primary party organizations to really influence the activity of the higher party bodies. The wording here should be more specific, in order to orient communists to a more productive discussion.

What does this mean? Today, when we especially need unity of will and action, we hardly need to give up such a norm of democratic centralism as the binding force of the decisions of the higher party bodies on the lower ones. At the same time, the ossified hardness of this norm is obvious. Evidently, this can be got rid of by introducing into internal party life the mechanism of "ratification" of the decisions of the party committees by a majority of the primary party organizations. Precisely the primary ones, which will indeed make them active and direct participants in working out the policy of the party. Of course, this does not have to be spread to the decisions of the representative bodies of the party—the congresses and conferences. it is important to clearly stipulate the circle of questions to be offered for "ratification" at all levels.

The formation of an atmosphere of openness, the broadening of the opportunities for each communist to take part in working out party decisions, will inevitably place on the agenda the question of the unity of the party will, the unity of the party as a political organization.

Here, what is understood by unity is not a condition, but a process, which is more in line with the role of our party today. Hence the conclusion follows logically about the purposefulness of intraparty competition concerning approaches and platforms, and of defending the rights of minorities. The formula apparent here is that: Reliable protection for the ideas prevailing in the party and taking unfailing account of the opinion of the minority.

Unity of Party will is impossible without a strengthening of discipline, the speaker continued. We must unflaggingly repeat Lenin's thought: The party without discipline is no party. It is not superfluous to recall this in the CPSU Central Committee platform as well.

In the process of perestroyka we are all changing, and learning. This has become a hachneyed phrase. But do the smashing of stereotypes and the search for new approaches and solutions mean the smashing of all and eveything, do they allow for the right to dash from one extreme to the other? These thoughts occur to me every time I read in the press, or hear on the radio, arguments in favor of Party committees without an apparatus, and giving them the status of standing bodies. But very serious questions arise. Will this not constrict collectiveness in work? Will it not impoverish the spectrum of opinions of communists who have sent their representatives to the raykom or gorkom? Will it not lead to superficiality in the working out of decisions? And the most important question here is: Giving the members of elected bodies, especially at the lower levels, the status of professions, their absence in the mass of the Party, will this not weaken the CPSU's tie with the people?

The platform is a political document. It contains a provision that is unambiguous for our society: That of private property. This should be outlined more clearly from the point of view of its sphere of application. For decades our people have been educated in the spirit of: give society more than you give yourself. It is for them to decide what forms of property to have, and in what proportions and correlation to combine them, so as to exploit socialism's more fully.

Democratization of powerlessness—that is what some journalists call the situation in the county. They are obviously stretching a point. But after all, you could not say that there are no grounds for such a definition. People have become tired of increasing disorder, of interethnic conflicts. The blood of innocent people is flowing. For weeks and months on end, it is not so much individual enterprises but whole regions that do not work. The situation demands a decisive stepping up of central power.

The USSR Supreme Soviet chairman and CPSU Central Committee general secretary has immense responsibility to the people and to the party. But do his powers match up to this responsibility? What is at issue is that the head of state—and he is also leader of the party—should possess powers which, without contradicting the functioning of democratic institutions, would allow him to use his power where this is necessary in the interests of perestroyka and in the interests of the Soviet people.

K.G. Fesenko, explosives foreman at the "Kochegarka" mine of the "Artemugol" production association, said that a delegation of miners is taking part in the work of the plenum, a sign of movement along the road of democratization. Perestroyka, he continued, is essential. Everyone understands this now. And it was proposed by the party. We need to analyze how it is that today the party finds itself in a kind of incomprehensible state.

We have familiarized ourselves with the document, but some of its clauses raise doubts. For example, on radicalism in the economy. The workers think that radicalism should first and foremost be in glasnost and democracy. And we, not having a legal base or the necessary mechanisms, began rushing from side to side in the economy. The old monopoly system in the economy has become obsolete, but we have moved toward the market without any kind of laws, and it has turned into natural robbery. We talk about increasing the output of goods for the people, but at the same time we ignore the situation in base sectors. Academicians' innovations have led the coal industry to the end of its tether. [passage omitted]

The strikes could have been averted. However, during M.S. Gorbachev's visits, local officials did everything to conceal the truth, to prepare people for talks with him. If at that time they had spoken the truth and had taken measures, perhaps the strikes would not have taken place.

At the moment, the miner noted much is being said about Article 6 in the Constitution. This needs to be understood unequivocally: At present, special rights in society are assigned not to the party but its apparatus. I am a rank-and-file communist and I don't have any kind of leading role. That belongs to the apparatus, and in the main, because of its conservative opposition, perestroyka is not advancing. [passage omitted]

Comrade Mesyats talked about the blackening of the party apparatus. Well, you were involved in agriculture, and what? Do we have full shelves today? How can you say that someone is blackening your character?

From childhood we were told that all revolutions begin with the seizure of the post office, telegraph system—in a word—information. Well, today, all information is in the hands of the party apparatus, and it has learned how to use it. But in principle, we in the localities, do not obtain information. [passage omitted]

The apparat gives the general Secretary filtered information and then blames him when the wrong decisions are adopted. Of course, it suits the apparat to say that everything is okay in the localities, and that perestroyka is in full swing. But then unreal decisions, cut off from real life, are adopted.

The worker considers an expansion of glasnost in the work of the Politburo and of the CPSU Central Committee to be essential. If the party was the first to put forward a demand for democratization, he stressed, then it should have been the first to restructure itself. And the fact that it has not managed to do this undermines trust in the party. direct elections are needed for all leaders, including the general secretary and members of the Politburo, in the party constituencies. Rank and file communists are capable of assessing a leader.

Does our president, as we call him, have any real power? the speaker asked. We ourselves elected the USSR people's deputies, but as yet we have seen nothing but a talking shop. Laws are being adopted, clearly, in the wrong sequence, and then do not find reflection in real life. If we charge Mikhail Sergeyevich with engaging only in presidential activity, then it will scarcely prove possible to achieve anything, since there is no mechanism for implementing the decisions being made. The party structure is outmoded; it is essential to reduce the party apparatus and eliminate the rayon party committees in the town and town committees in the oblast centers.

Having talked the other day with M.S. Gorbachev, the miner noted in conclusion, we clarified our positions and decided to consolidate our efforts. The workers' movement is constructive, and it can only be feared by an apparatus which is apprehensive of losing its armchairs. The Communists of the republic are in solidarity with the fact that it is necessary to act more resolutely, and most important, to switch from general correct arguments to concrete actions, stressed Ya.Ya. Vagris, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, and first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. It is true, one must self-critically acknowledge that hitherto we ourselves also have placed these problems before the highest bodies of the party and state leadership in an insufficiently active and concrete manner.

Neither can one fail to mention that we are not satisfied with the continuing practice of the preparation of some of the most important party-wide documents in Moscow offices without involving representatives of the union republic communist parties. In particular, the first time we saw the draft of the CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th CPSU Congress, which is being discussed today, was here, at registration. Yet it requires time for a more profound analysis and interpretation.

The speaker singled out, among the most important obejctives of restructuirng, the problems of the fundamental renewal of the USSR, insuring the independence of the republics on a stable, contractual basis, and the democratisation and restructuring of the party itself.

Dwelling on the problems of the union, he said that the real situation in a number of of regions of the country seems to prompt the thought about the need for a law defining the procedure for a republic to leave the union. Such a law evidently is needed, but the resoluton of the problem, in the view of the speaker, should start with a legislative definition of how we are to live together, and live justly, honestly, and for the good of one and all, and then definite as it were, the "divorce" procedure, the division of property and so forth. It is the duty of the party, strictly recognising the right of nations to full self-determination, of course, to stand on positions of realism and expediency and to fight the trends of separatism. It is impossible to build a democratic legal society and state without a durable internal incentive for unity and an interest in one another. Unfortunately, the new contours of the union have been delineated in a most indistinct manner in the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee. For this reason, the speaker regards it as necessary to work out and adopt a law on the union or a new treaty on the union before the 28th CPSU Congress.

Speaking of radical economic reform, he drew attention to the fact that it is not the first year that we have been hearing from the rostrum that direct contracts, contractual relations between enterprises, between republics and regions, and the formation of an All-Union market should be the eocnomic basis of integration processes and the renewal and strengthening of our federation. However, one must speak with equal frequency about the imparity in economic relations between the republic and the center, which contradicts the laws of the USSR and in particular the law on the economic independence of the Baltic republics. He illustrated his thought using Latvia as an example. It specialises in the production of meat and milk, mainly on imported concentrated feed, settling accounts by way of manufactured products. Mutual economic interest here should be built on the basis of a stable, long-term contract on the volume of mutual deliveries.

The speaker levelled criticism at the government of the USSR which, in his view, is still avoiding concluding such a contract. Moreover, it is taking punitive sanctions of a sort, unilaterally continuing to sharply cut the volume of grain fodder allocated to the republic, which will inevitably result in a reduction of the number of pigs and poultry.

Hence, the republic will not be able to carry out in full its supplies to the union of meat and milk, which will affect Leningrad first and foremost, and causes unnecessary confrontations between the republic and the union. The speaker pointed out that the issue is acquiring a political slant, since it might seem that the Baltic republics "do not want" to fulfill their obligations.

The mutual commitment of the government and the republic to ensure the state order for meat and milk is a fundamental problem of the restructuring of economic relations under the new conditions of economic management. What is more, we proceed from the thesis of the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee to the effect that the center has no interests which are, in themselves, distinct from the fundamental interests of the peoples of the republics which form the federation.

The speaker fully supported the idea that a delay in implementing profound changes in the party itself could threaten to push it on to the sidelines of political life, and he expressed the conviction that the party can gain a firm foothold in this rapid current of political processes not so much by establishing political phenomena that have already happened, as by its ability to look ahead boldy and to prepare for the future.

The speaker said that the problems of a multiparty system in Soviet Latvia have moved from being theoretical to strictly practical. The Communist Party of Latvia is already operating in multiparty conditions. The elections to local authorities and to the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR, in particular, are taking place with various political forces in keen competition. And if we wish to build a democratic and law-governed state, where law reigns supreme and the principle of sovereignty of the people is realized in practice, said the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, then the party should learn the ABC of parliamentary activity, which, among other things, is based on political partnership, on social and national reconciliation, and on the art of constructive and sensible compromise.

He stressed that the proposal on raising the status of the communist parties of the union republics, and ensuring them both guaranteed representation in the top bodies of the CPSU leadership and full independence in resolving all matters of their internal life, merits full support.

The democratization of the party and its transformation into an organization capable of following the principles of humanism and democratic socialism, the speaker stressed in conclusion, presupposes a variety of opinions, the freedom to express them, and to defend different points of view.

The floor is given to B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee on Construction and Architecture. He noted that today the party was at the verge of a crisis. It had been brought to this point also by the present compostion of the Central Committee, by its adherence to dogmas, its sluggishenss, and lack of resolve in democratizing the party, by its unwillingness to carry out restructuring within itself. The party's lengthy monopoly of power has turned it into a bureaucratic structure which has brought the country to a crisis situation and the people, many millions of people, to poverty. One must answer for that. It is the composition of the Party Central Committee, it is the members of the Politburo, each member of the Politburo's composition, entrusted with this or that sphere of work that must be made answerable for that, instead, as has been the usual custom, only the guy close to hand being made to carry the can.

The party, as has been stated here today, is losing its influence and prestige more and more. Apparently, it is left with its last chance. What is needed is a really radical renewal of the party upon a new, democratic basis. One cannot say that the draft of the new platform (though it is true that it has been presented rather late in the day) has been compiled only in the old spirit and that it fails to offer anything new. It has new aspect and, in some cases, progressive aspects. But, all in all, one gets the impression that it has been written by two hands, the right hand and the left hand. And an attempt was being made all the time to reconcile them somehow, going for concessions now to this and and now to the other one.

The speaker voiced a number of considerations on the basis of his personal position and also of the declaration of the All-Union conference of party clubs and party organizations, held in January.

First: Renounce the principle of democratic centralism, having replaced it with universal democratic principles guaranteeing genuine pluralism within the party, ensuring that minority rights, freedom of opinions are guaranteed and that the party member defends his position, political rights, and individual freedoms.

Second: Renounce the apparatus as an instrument of power. Go over to democratic principles of self-management in the party by means of the elective bodies and councils of secretaries of primary party organizations.

Third: A transition must be carried out from a party that stands for the single party system to a party that allows a multiparty system, one that is ready to act on the basis of the law on parties and public organizations.

The highest body is the Congress of People's Deputies and the CPSU ought to be legally accountable to it, as should other parties.

Fourth: the principle of formal unanimity must be renounced. The variety of positions, currents, platforms, and the independence of factions, represented at congresses and the party's elective bodies in proportion to their numerical strength, must be acknowledged.

Fifth: It must be stated with precision that by way of a legislative initiative, the CPSU Central Committee itself renounces Article 6 of the USSR Constitution.

Sixth: A gradual transition to a horizontal structure in the party, along with setting up local self-management bodies, that is to say communists being united according to the principles of their goals, their functions, and the territorial principle.

Seventh: Elections to the congress, conferences, and the local and central bodies, and elections of leaders, including the party's highest bodies, must be by direct and secret ballot, with many cnadidates from the primary organizations and party-territorial constituencies taking part on an equal basis.

Eight: Party mass media must be subordinate only to the congress or party conference. It will not do to have decisions on whether to leave or dismiss the chief editor of a paper, magazine, or a television editorial board dependent on the mood of secretaries of party committees. The procedure whereby the party confirms appointments on an appointments list [nomenklatura] or elitism must be renounced. There must be no interference in the questions of appointing or electing leaders whose rank places them within the remit of the local soviets or the Congress or People's Deputies. All privileges in the party must be renounced.

Ninth: The party budget must be arrived at and spent only according to grassroots decisions as transmitted above. The primary party organizations must exercise strict control over all expenditure without exception. It is the speaker's view that it is also necesssary to reduce the size of contributions, leaving a large proportion of them in primary party organizations.

Tenth: There must be a transition from the unitary principle of construction of state, and correspondingly, the CPSU, to a voluntary alliance of peoples and a voluntary alliance of republican communist parties, including the Russian Communist Party, having abolished the Russian buro of the CPSU Central Committee. I am of the view, said the speaker, that the present composition of the Central Committee is in all probability unable to carry out a genuinely democratic and radical renewal in the party, a renewal that is between four and five years behind schedule, and that it is unable to revise its platform, to carry out the elections and the congress. The process of impatience and of the crisis of confidence has already gotten off the ground and it will hardly be possible to have it contained untl the autumn. He lent his support to the proposal to transfer the party congress to May-June. On the basis of primary organizations and various platforms being represented, an organizing committee should be set up with this aim, to prepare the 28th Congress which should be held at that time. The crisis situation in the party, politics, ideology, and society should be discussed at it and a revised platform for the renewal of the party should be adopted at it.

In the opinion of A.S. Dzasokhov, first secretary of the North Osetian Oblast Committee of the CPSU, the report by M.S. Gorbachev opens up scope for discussions and leads convincingly to the idea of dealing urgently with the qualitiative renewal of the party itself.

It is necessary to determine political objectives and the stages of the struggle for them in a sober way, without extremes, without emotions, and especially without elements of confusion and despair. In this connection, he approved the idea formulated in the draft platform that it should be regarded as a period of transition, having in mind that ahead there is a task of great strategic importance, the elaboration of a new CPSU program.

This objective would be accompanied by great success if we preserved a sharply critical, demanding atmosphere in our ranks, but if at the same time we promoted without fail the creation of a moral climate in all levels and links of the party of a kind that would be free of unhealthy suspicions that some people are underestimating and that other people are overestimating the role of the CPSU. That is the only way in which one can sort out the objective grounds for the trends that do indeed exist for the authority of the party and that of party committees locally, too, to fall.

The renewed interpretation of democratic centralism as a necessary form of regulator of internal party life will, of course, give rise to great interest in the party and among the public. After Lenin—and it is important to state this today—in connection with existing critical publications, this priniciple has been subjected to crude distortion and has essentially been transformed into the opposite of what it is.

In the opinion of the speaker, the platform returns to the political experience of that time in the party's history when there were remarkable models of dialogue and of tolerance towards both other ways of thinking and those who think differently, towards cooperation with the opposition as essential features of any democratically organized party.

It is with concern that the speaker spoke of the decline and even devaluation of communist ideas. It is for this reason that it seems to him to be very topical to mobilize the party's intellect to work out modern concepts of social progress. For the same reason, communists mastering the Marxist legacy can at present be of no less significance in the conditions of a sharp political discusion than it was, say, at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century or immediatley after the October Revolution. However, we are returning to our ideological sources certainly not in order to canonise them yet again.

Perestroyka in the party is not just a purely organizational-structural measure. It is also a process of bringing up to date the sum total of knowledge, the oblast committee first secretary believes. In this context, he called for rejecting the narrow-departmental, corporate system of training leading cadres.

The speech focused attention on an issue connected with the powers of the head of the supreme body of power. Life itself now insistently demands that the constitutional powers of the head of state power should be expanded in the interests of safeguarding a democratic process, combined with stability in the socialist society.

Speaking of the nationalities policy and of the chapter devoted to the issue in the platform, the head of the party organization of North Ossetia said that perestroyka's destiny depends to an enormous extent on the will and unity of party's actions in this most important sphere. It is necessary that a principled appraisal be made of the force, which, on the crest of glasnost and democracy, fan up an atmosphere of interethnic confrontation and specualte on the past and present difficulties.

Harmonziation of interethnic construction is not unilateral in nature, as life has shown. He lent his support to a provision in the draft platform concerning self-determination, having noted, however, that some of its points, including the one about autonomous formations, are of an altogether general and declarative nature.

This current Central Committee plenum should propose such a program of action which would help to unite the party and give it confidence in its ability to lead perestroyka, said G.I. Revenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Kiev Party Obkom.

In conditions of an intensive search for ways to implement socialist ideas, the speaker went on, the essential features of the new face of socialism must be given a fundamental scientific basis. Otherwise communists and nonparty members lose their political orientation. It seems advisable to set out and appraise in the program document the socialist concepts which obtain in the world today.

Speaking about the party's place in conditions of deepening the reform of the political system, the speaker proposed that the attitude to Article 6 of the Constitution, which today continues to remain a pretext for exacerbating passions around the party and for political speculation, should be clearly expressed in the CPSU Central Committee' platform: the party cannot declare it power by means of a basic law. It appears to be extremely necessary for the working out of political documents to be conducted in such a way that their clauses are directly linked to the drafts of new laws—especially those on ownership in the USSR, on land—and also with a future law on federation. The Central Committee should also express its attitude to them in a conceptual sense.

The shaping of strong soviets should be singled out as a most important direction of the work of the whole party. At the same time, there is a very noticable shortage in the party today of new forms of work, adherance to outdated approaches and inflexibility of tactics. It has long been necessary to determine what the party's tactics should be in soviets of all levels with varying degrees of representation of communists in them, and in relation to public organizations and independent formations, including those who adopt openly reactionary positions.

Renewal of interparty life is impossible without working out a new charter which enables each communist to realize his potential within the framework of the new party attitudes and which ensures the party's ideological and organizational unity.

In supporting the new structure of the supreme party bodies, which was proposed in the draft platform, the speaker at the same time made a proposal on changing the sequence of their formation. The direct proportional delegation from republican communist parties of their representatives in the CPSU Central Committee would, in his opinion, meet with the new view of the clauses on these parties.

A call was also voiced for there to be a particularly radical approach to reinterpretation of the role of the primary party organizations: They should be given not curtailed, but broad independence, the right to final admission into the party or exclusion from it, and the paradox whereby a person joins the party voluntarily but cannot freely leave it should be eliminated. At the same time there should be no loopholes left which allow individual party members to have one foot in the CPSU and the other foot in other politicized organizations.

The way the question of a strictly regulated procedure for report-back of all elected bodies and their members, from the central committee secretary to the primary party organization secretary, has been asked seems logical and correct, the speaker continued. Evidently, we are faced with the need to introduce retirement into party practice as one of the democratic forms of party life, and also [the need to introduce] the recall of Central Committee members. Elections of party leaders should be made direct, secret, and offer an alternative choice in each case, with all communists taking part.

Taking into account the experience of the elections to soviets and our party's character in the opinion of the Kiev oblast party leadership we should provide for a regulated norm for representation of workers and peasants in all elected bodies of the party, right up to the highest leading ones. The party budget must be revealed in full, it must be drawn up in a fundamentally different way, from below. There should be a binding requirement for it to be confirmed at congresses, conferences, and plenums of party committees. The expenditure of party resources should be accounted for before the communists: The matter of privileges and benefits within the party should be determined clearly and without delay.

The unprecedented speed with which the country's situation is changing and the buildup in processes destroying the unity of the party require that one should come out straightforwardly in favor of bringing forward the congress' date and the entire report-back and election campaign in the party upon a broad democratic foundation, the speaker said in conclusion.

The debate was continued in the evening session.

Kiev's Korniyenko for 'Party Unity'

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[Debate speech by A.I. Korniyenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Kiev City Committee, at CPSU Central Committee Plenum 5 February]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades, I would like to begin my speech with a quote from a letter by Comrade Ignatenko, communist worker at the Kiev Artem production association, which he addressed to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev after attending a rally. "I am a communist with a long service record. I dared to mount the rally rostrum in order to, frankly and in party fashion, call its participants to reason. However, my voice was drowned in whistles and wild curses. Booing and calls for the physical annihilation of communists came from all sides. I experienced a horror from which I have not recovered to this day. What is happening in our disintegrating state? Where are we heading? Is it not time for you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, and the leadership of the country as a whole to give some serious thought to fate of the socialist state, the fate of the honest working people, and to adopt radical measures with the utmost urgency before it is too late? God forbid that we miss our chance and lose all the gains of socialism for which we have worked so hard. The people would never forgive you for that."

Similar opinions, imbued with sincere concern for the fate of socialism in our country are of late being voiced more and more frequently in statements by ordinary people. Naturally, miscalculations and shortcomings in the work of local party and soviet organs are, once again, the most frequent specific cause for this kind of letters.

Nonetheless, these letters should furnish food for thought for every member of the Central Committee and the country's government and every participant in our plenum today. We have begun and are implementing the cause of perestroyka, a cause of the greatest historical significance, thus shouldering a tremendous responsibility. However, the search for a way out of the crisis has dragged on for too long and the knot of problems is getting tighter and tighter. Meanwhile we continue, slowly but surely, to lose our positions. It has now become a question of the most important thing, of power, of the prospects for the preservation of the ruling party itself.

Communists, and many nonparty people too, are seriously concerned at the dangerous processes now established in the party—processes leading to a split—and worried by the continued absence of a mechanism to ensure the involvement of every member of the CPSU in the elaboration and implementation of party policy and by the extremely slow progress of the development of intraparty democracy.

The working people today are lodging serious complaints against the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo, and local party organs for mistakes committed during the years of perestroyka, for a lack of consistency, indecision in the leadership of perestroyka processes, and failure to adopt a stance on a number of fundamental questions of society's development.

This is why the party and the whole country are waiting with tremendous impatience for the decisions of today's Central Committee plenum. They are expecting it to provide answers to many questions which we have failed to answer over the past five years of perestroyka.

While reading and analyzing the submitted draft platform, you ponder its formulations again and again. Having listened today to the report delivered by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, you conclude that many of his propositions are truly innovatory and in keeping with the spirit of our times. This applies above all to the propositions which concern democratization and the development of self-management in society, the attitude to people and to the creation of legal foundations to protect the freedom of the individual, and the affirmation of new thinking in foreign policy activities.

At the same time many things in the draft platform require in-depth analysis and serious additional elaboration. This applies above all to the section on the renewal of the party. After all, what communists expect from the plenum is specifically a profound analysis of the processes which are underway in the party itself, of its role at the various stages of our history, and a concrete program for the renewal of the CPSU. Despite this, the section in question looks fragmentary, it does not contain an integral concept for the perestroyka of the party. In my opinion it needs to be considerably supplemented and expanded, and possibly issued as a separate doducment.

As a matter of principle I cannot agree with the thesis that we cannot know everything in advance, that the development of reforms will enable us to clarify our answers to many questions. Embarking on a cardinal restructuring of the party, we must know exactly what we are trying to obtain, what we want the renewed party to look like, on what principles it will be based. Otherwise we will be doomed to lag constantly behind.

The cardinal question in CPSU restructuring is the question of its place and role in our society as it undergoes renewal. Naturally, the party's leading role cannot be secured by any kind of constitutional or legislative guarantees. In this respect the CPSU and other political forces must enjoy equal legal rights. On the other hand, the very logic and history of the development of Soviet society have assigned a special place to our party, special not in terms of a monopoly on power but in terms of historical responsibility for the fate of socialism. We must look truth squarely in the face. There is no other force today capable of consistently upholding the socialist ideals. Therefore the thesis expounded in the draft to the effect that the CPSU, alongside other sociopolitical organization and movements, is merely to participate in the management of state and social affairs is, to say the least, incomprehensible. Quite the contrary: We are obliged to fight with all the means permissible in a democratic society for our vanguard, consolidating role in society.

The absence in the platform of a serious approach to the ideological and educational role of the party is causing concern. Having proclaimed a pluralism of opinions, we have a society which is open to all ideological influences and pressures. It is perfectly self-evident that in such conditions the party must fight with even greater persistence for people's hearts and minds. The crucial question today is: Who is going to lead the masses in terms of world-outlook, spiritually, and ideologically? These questions do not resolve themselves automatically. At present emotions rather than reason prevail in society. A devaluation of moral values is under way and spiritual aridity, crime, and total license are engulfing us. This applies above all to young people. Take the trouble to analyze what swamps our children today. What are we doing? We seek salvation in propagandizing religion. Does this mean that we no longer have any use for the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin? Then let us at least recall Aristotle, who said: "Being dependent on others to some extent and unable to do entirely as you please is very beneficial. After all, permitting everyone to do as he sees fit cannot protect us from the evil which is inherent in every person."

Tolerance of other opinions, respect for different, albeit unusual, viewpoints, is an indispensable condition of the healthy development of society. In these conditions what we need is a meaningful and sensible glasnost based on the profound morality and culture of the people. Do we possess it in sufficient measure? In this context, I believe, the question of how we instill these qualities in all the people from an early age should be emphatically placed on the agenda of all our state and public institutions.

At the same time it is becoming increasingly obvious that the party lacks an integrated ideological platform. In this context communists are asking an entirely legitimate question: Why do the party and its Central Committee sometimes assume a defensive stance; why, in conditions of the pluralism of opinions, do they not have their own precise viewpoint; why in view of our tremendous intellectual potential do we feel theoretically disarmed; why do we stubbornly fail to notice the attempts of our super-radicals to debunk the leader of the world's first proletarian revolution and to remove him from the pedestal which he allegedly has not deserved, and to declare both Marxism-Leninism and the very idea of socialism unviable? Why have we failed to make prompt political assessments of the events in the Baltic republics, Fergana, Tbilisi, and the Transcaucasus, and why do we constantly cede the initiative to others?

You even get the impression that the Central Committee has no clear idea of what forces it can confidently rely on at present. The draft platform quite correctly sets the task of consolidating society on the basis of its revolutionary renewal. However, it is also perfectly obvious that we must resolutely dissociate ourselves from certain forces, and must state this openly. Is it not plain where the activities of these forces in many parts of the country are leading? Is it possible to adopt a complacent attitude to what was going on yesterday at the rally organized by so-called democratic forces? After all, direct threats against the country's leaders were heard there, calls were made to disband all party committees including the Central Committee, eliminate party organizations, and organize a civil disobedience campaign, and other ultimatums were issued. All this is spreading throughout the country like wildfire, comrades, exacerbating the specific problems of every region, which are already complex enough.

Comrades, the principles on which the future of the party is to be based cannot but cause us concern. I am convinced that the CPSU will cease to be a real political force, that it will turn into a shapeless conglomerate of uncoordinated groupings if we follow the persistent calls for a renunciation of democratic centralism. The living organism of the party cannot, of course, exist without controversy and debate, and the principle of democratic centralism does, of course, require renewal. However, pluralism of opinions must not be allowed to turn into a pluralism of actions, otherwise we will be engulfed by intraparty struggle which may be a far cry from intraparty democracy. I believe that we must come out unequivocally in favor of party unity as one of the main principles of its existence.

In conclusion I would like to say that a few days ago a plenum of our party city committee [gorkom] was held at which a meaningful debate took place on the future destiny of the party and its ability to act as the vanguard of society. Summing up the opinions of the majority of party organizations, the plenum clearly expressed itself in favor of bringing the 28th CPSU Congress forward to May-June, and of electing delegates by direct secret ballot from a choice of candidates and with the participation of all CPSU members. The local-level report-and-election campaign should be held in the wake of the congress.

The gorkom plenum also made a whole series of other propositions which have been reported to the CPSU Central Committee.

I am convinced that our plenum will serve as an important impetus to serious efforts on our part to enhance the prestige of the party at the current complex stage of the development of our society.

Mesyats: 'Truth Must Be Faced'

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[Debate speech by V.K. Mesyats, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow oblast party committee, at CPSU Central Committee Plenum 5 February]

[Text] Comrades! This Central Committee plenum is of exceptionally great importance for the CPSU and the cause of perestroyka. The situation in the country is extremely complex. The truth must be faced squarely. Conscientious labor, organization, and discipline have now been pushed into the background, so to speak. Everyone is focusing their attention on how to more cleverly divide up the meager state budget, scarce food resources, and sometimes simply unearned income. But it is becoming increasingly difficult to make the division, hence our conflicts, the social tension, and the clear mistrust of party and soviet organs.

Our society is faced with a choice—either it travels the path of destabilization, anarchy, and social upheavals, or it unites all healthy forces and moves forward along the path of cleansing socialism of deformations and distortions and renewing it on the basis of the principles of democracy and humanism.

The Moscow oblast party organization advocates the second path. After broad debates in which over 356,000 Communists and nonparty people took part, we set out our position in an action program for the deepening and practical implementation of perestroyka. Our oblast party organization firmly declared that it will strongly espouse positions of Marxism-Leninism and advocate the party's leading role in society. We are sure that at the present time, aside from the CPSU, there is no other force or social movement capable of uniting the people, mobilizing them to surmount the difficulties of the transitional period, and extricating the country from the crisis. Unfortunately, this fundamental thesis is not reflected in the draft CPSU platform for the 28th congress. Clearly, it ought to be taken into account when further work is done on the draft. After all, the party does not oppose healthy social movements and organizations, it is not seeking to usurp the right to the truth and is prepared to cooperate with all progressive forces.

Of course, it must bluntly be admitted that leading state and party organs often make serious miscalculations in the practical implementation of perestroyka. Though the strategic goals and concepts are correctly defined, the tactics for their implementation are often erroneous and inconsistent. The results of adopted decisions are not always forecast, as has already been repeatedly said.

Something else that must be objectively taken into account is the fact that stratification of opinions and views has begun in the party itself. In principle there is nothing terrible here, a process of the politicization and galvanization of Communists is under way, we believe. So what is the worrying point? Above all, the fact that some people, on the pretext of pluralism of opinions in the party, are trying to foist on us pluralism of their own by no means disinterested aims and actions. We have now reached a point where the party is losing its positions. Therefore the draft platform should more clearly define the renewed party's role and place in building a renewed socialist society, since the vagueness of the basic formulas, given the absence of an effective mechanism for implementing them and the multiplicity of various movements, unions, associations, fronts, and so forth that have now been created, will mean that the party loses its identity and is left by the political wayside. Life urgently demands that the style and methods of party work be radically restructured in the light of the rapidly changing situation, that our forces be regrouped, and that the theoretical and practical base be replenished with constructive new ideas and approaches. The party must constantly bolster its vanguard role with preemptive [operezhayushchiy] initiative and real fruitful action. Without this, the CPSU will not restore its leading [lidiruyushchiy] position no matter how much we proclaim our authority.

I support the positions set out in the draft CPSU platform regarding substantial changes to the CPSU statutes.

Particularly sharp debates are now under way about the procedure for electing delegates to the upcoming party congress and forming its leading organs. In this connection I would like to say that a considerable proportion of the oblast's Communists advocate direct, multiple-candidate elections, and we agree with their proposal.

The communists of the Moscow region advocate a resolute change in relations between superior party committees and party organizations at local level and the delegation of more rights to the latter, as Mikhail Sergeyevich said in his report and as the platform says. They must be given independence in resolving internal party questions concerning admissions to the party, expulsions from its ranks, the improvement of organizational structures, the use of party dues, and monitoring of the activity of elected organs and their apparatus.

However, we will be unable to markedly revitalize internal party life and raise party work to a new qualitative level unless we resolutely oppose the defamation of party cadres and the belittling of the party's role in perestroyka.

Today communists are directly asking us: Why are the CPSU Central Committee and party committees on the defensive, why do they not deal a proper rebuff to demagogues and falsifiers, why do they tolerate those who carry party cards in their pockets but oppose the party line? In our view, the time has come to make a clear stand and to say who is who! Who is indeed a supporter of perestroyka, and who is exploiting glasnost in order to implement his own group, political ambitions and fight for the direct seizure of power.

The CPSU initiated and headed perestroyka and must be in its vanguard. It is precisely this that the majority of rank-and-file communists demand of the Central Committee and all leading party organs. And we propose that a special plenum resolution be adopted on this question.

Now a few words about the further deepening of political reform and the transfer of full power to the soviets. There are already positive changes in this direction, but what is the worrying point? Everyone is well aware that whoever can effectively resolve questions connected with developing the economy and social sphere and satisfying people's vital everyday needs has real power. But in our country, unfortunately, the soviets are still economically dependent and bereft of political rights. If we want to complete the second stage of the political reform more rapidly, we must create soviets capable of economic action, form effective territorial organizational and economic structures, vest organs of people's power with real rights, and reinforce them with highly skilled cadres. Otherwise the slogan "All power to the soviets" will remain merely a rally slogan, which, once again, will have an adverse impact on the prestige of the party which proclaimed it. Our draft platform, I will be blunt, says precisely nothing specific about this.

One last point. Our oblast party organization totally goes along with the draft platform's thesis that we cannot go on living the way we lived before April 1985. After all, over the decades of Stalinism and stagnation socialism was distorted and disfigured in the extreme as far as both theory and practice were concerned. Therefore the present course of democratization in the political, economic, and national respects is justified.

However, much that is now happening, Comrades, looks very much like an unprecedented orgy of unhealthy passions and anarchy skillfully inflamed by the leaders of all kinds of antisocialist groupings and unions. All this exerts a powerful psychological pressure on people's minds and arouses their legitimate anger and indignation. I don't know, maybe I'm wrong, but, Comrades, this is not the democracy and the glasnost that the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum proclaimed in the name of and for the good of the Soviet people. Our indecisiveness is seen as weakness and promotes the growth of irresponsibility and total license. Things have gone too far. And is this not one of the main reasons why we have not attained in the economy the positive results that were expected? Let's be realistic. The indiscipline, lack of organization, and violations of production rhythm that have become a fact of life put no more produce or goods on store shelves and counters, do nothing to accelerate the construction of housing and other social facilities, do not improve medical, everyday, and municipal services, and in general do not help to extricate the country from the complex situation. Working people rightly demand the adoption of effective measures to impose order, create a stable situation, and guarantee people's social protection and secure existence. This is why the party must bring to the 28th congress a clear program for creating a genuinely rule-of-law, genuinely people's multinational state.

We support the proposal for advancing the date of the congress. But we think the report and election campaign in the party could be begun after the congress. Painfully great tasks face society in the concluding year of the five-year plan. We have a great deal of work to do here. As for my general assessment of the draft political platform offered for the plenum's consideration, I believe additional work should be done on it and then, taking into account the proposals and criticisms, it should be published for nationwide discussion.

Karimov Urges 'Guaranteed' Moscow Role

*PM0602114590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Feb 90 Second Edition p 3*

[Debate speech by I.A. Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, at CPSU Central Committee Plenum 5 February]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades! The opinion of the overwhelming majority of Uzbekistan's Communists and working people can be unambiguously formulated: We are in favor of a renewed USSR federation in which each republic enjoys genuine sovereignty and autonomy. We are in favor of organizational and ideological unity within a renewed CPSU, the nature of whose transformation is revealed in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report on the draft CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th Party Congress.

The CPSU today is indeed the real political force that plays a consolidating role throughout our multinational state. At the same time, the emergency situations over the last few months have clearly shown that unless we anticipate events, unless party organizations at a local level promptly solve pressing problems, then as a rule these problems are followed by others, and this in turn is fraught with unpredictable consequences.

What problems are we talking about, Comrades? The issue primarily concerns the economic and social situation, the satisfaction of vitally important needs which determine the mood of every individual, every family, and the entire population regardless of national affiliation. Thanks to the cooperation and mutual assistance on the country's peoples, Uzbekistan has created a major production potential. But the administrative edict policy which was dictated by the unitary state structure led to the point where our economy today is one-sidedly hypertrophied in favor of raw materials and is not geared to the population's needs. Finished output in industry accounts for no more than 50 percent, while more than one-half of the finished products we sell in the retail trade network are brought in from outside the republic. It was not so during the war and postwar years, when there was hardly any choice; it was actually in the last few decades that dozens of ecologically harmful chemical production units were recklessly implanted in the few oasis sectors where all of Central Asia's life is concentrated, and the bulk of their output is today shipped in raw material form outside the republic without giving the population anything but polluted air, soil, and water.

It is impossible to treat as normal a situation whereby 80-90 percent of agriculture's main products are shipped out without any processing whatsoever. Much has been said recently about cotton-growing specialization in

Uzbekistan. This, Comrades, is not due to the republic's whim: It reflects the position and role assigned to it in the unionwide division of labor. The republic was assigned an important political-economic task in the past: to ensure our country's cotton independence. This task was performed, Comrades—and, incidentally, the same cannot be said for the country as a whole in terms of grain, meat, or other most important categories of agricultural produce. Consequently, however, the republic has found itself among the last in the country in terms of consumption of not only livestock products but even of fruit and vegetables, as well as in terms of social development in the countryside.

It must be bluntly said today, Comrades, that the first few steps in overcoming the stereotypes of old attitudes in central and government organs toward the republic as a raw materials appendage were taken only recently. By way of confirming this, the CPSU Central Committee platform's "Toward a New Federation" section puts forward the principled tenet that each union republic has its own position within the country's national economic complex. Henceforth, each republic will autonomously determine its own development. We wholeheartedly welcome this principle, Comrades. But it will remain nothing but a verbal declaration until such time as all necessary conditions for its implementation in real life are created in practice.

Today, when we talk about transition to self-financing and self-management, there is virtually no attention given to the republic's starting position, to its socioeconomic base. The way things are, workers' average wages in our republic are approximately 75 percent, and per capita income is only a little over 50 percent of the country's average. More than 45 percent of the population live on the poverty line. In terms of all basic parameters of living conditions in the social sphere—and this has been repeatedly said —Uzbekistan lags substantially behind even the low average union indicators. For how long will people put up with the remainder-principle approach to their needs? After all, there must be some sort of normative criteria, if only to set an acceptable minimum. It is hardly tolerable when, in the conditions of a federation which is already undergoing renewal, the living standards of the population in one of its republics are only half as high as those in other regions. In this context, there must be unconditional support for the special attention given by the platform to questions of social policy and of ensuring social protection for different population strata.

We are especially worried about the solution of painful problems like the status of women, especially the mothers of large families, protection for children, social security for pensioners and the disabled, and real opportunities for our young people's comprehensive development. These are the questions to which we gave paramount attention in the Uzbek Communist Party's election platform, and we have already taken the initial practical steps to implement the planned measures.

The CPSU Central Committee platform points out the need to consolidate the guarantee of people's right to work. This problem acquires especially great significance for us. It must be bluntly said that we in Uzbekistan have now reached the point where it is simply impossible to put off any longer the question of providing jobs for people. The number of unemployed is rising and today stands at about one million.

In parallel with the measures being taken in the republic to allocate subsidiary plots to people, to build small branch shops in the countryside, and to organize work at home, it is necessary—and this has been repeatedly emphasized—to elaborate a union program to ensure people's employment.

In parallel with this, I submit a proposal—and I believe that there is a long-pressing need for this—to legislatively provide subsidies for people without work which would guarantee them a minimum living standard. This is done in all civilized countries in the world.

Decisive importance for the future of perestroyka attaches to the acceleration of the country's transition to the new mechanism of economic management. The platform emphasizes that a situation whereby the old is being demolished and the new is still not functioning cannot prevail for long. This is fraught with grave negative consequences for our people. Unfortunately, however, the new economic system and the new economic mechanism still lack clear and precise outlines. This applies especially and noticeably to union republics. For example, how is it possible to talk about economic autonomy and self-financing for the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic when the so-called subvention or, to put it more simply, subsidy from the union budget runs at R3 billion in the current year? This accounts for no more and no less than 30 percent of the entire republican budget. This question is not being solved either by the Supreme Soviet or by the country's government. And yet it is far from new, and this is not the first time it has been raised.

This question is directly associated with another—the review of payments for many categories of agricultural produce like, for example, raw cotton, which is Central Asia's main crop and whose processing produces huge profits for the country. Unfortunately, however, it does not cover its production costs.

Taking the broader view, we think that it is necessary to turn back again and review questions associated with the ownership of land and mineral wealth. In our view, the simplistic definition provided in the draft platform is not in line with the meaning and spirit of a renewed federation and will not promote the objective utilization of natural resources.

Comrades, today there is full justification for saying that the draft platform correctly maps out the course toward enhancing the autonomy and responsibility of union republic communist parties. While complying with the CPSU Program and Statute, they must be given an opportunity to elaborate their own program documents, to autonomously decide their organizational, cadre, and financial problems, and to enjoy the right to participate directly in the solution of fundamental questions concerning our entire party's life. In this context, we also support the proposals concerning the formation of CPSU leadership organs.

At the same time, I would like to note that social processes are now developing at a tempestuous pace, life is being swiftly renewed, but our organizational structure does not always anticipate events. For example, today there is just one single representative of Uzbekistan among the CPSU Central Committee membership, disregarding those who severed ties with the republic's party organizations a long time ago. Nor are there any representatives of a republic with a population of 20 million in the union government. In our view, this poses a problem, and the problem must be solved.

There must be guaranteed, mandatory representation of all union republic communist parties on an equal basis in the CPSU central organs.

Comrades! Displaying great concern and alarm in connection with the complex and far from simple situation prevailing in the party and in our country as a whole, the republic's party organizations and labor collectives are unanimous on one point: Today the party needs, more than ever before, clear-cut and firm positions on all fundamental questions associated with the renewal of our federation and with perestroyka in the CPSU.

Unfortunately, the platform does not define clear-cut positions as regards those who, camouflaged behind slogans of perestroyka and democracy and taking advantage of current difficulties and problems, are today destabilizing the situation and creating parallel organizational and other structures to capture political power. Voices can be heard calling for a ban on the Communist Party. Here is our opinion on this issue: Our Central Committee must clearly have its say on all these fundamental issues.

It is necessary to accelerate the elaboration and adoption of legislative constitutional norms for sociopolitical formations, as mentioned in the draft platform.

There is another question to which I find it necessary to draw urgent attention here. The CPSU, as a ruling political force, will continue to bear responsibility for the state of affairs in our country. So far there is no alternative political force in our country. Our opinion on this question is unambiguous. This is why it is necessary to be clearly aware that the party will be unable to complete its mission as initiator of perestroyka if it loses its grip on the main levers of cadre policy.

In this context, one could ask: Is it necessary for the platform to state so declaratively that resignation from the party entails no political consequences at all?

Comrades, we in Uzbekistan feel no sense of hopelessness as regards the party's future. We are firmly convinced that the work being done in Uzbekistan to consolidate and rally all healthy forces around the party, to concentrate efforts on the solution of immediate problems as regards improving people's living standards, and to broadly democratize intraparty life with a simultaneous strengthening of discipline and responsibility, will enable us to boost the Communist Party's role and importance as the leading force for perestroyka in our society.

We agree with the proposal made here by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev about bringing forward the date of the 28th CPSU Congress.

Belorussia's Sokolov 'Against Federalism'

PM0602120090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Feb 90 Second Edition p 4

[Debate speech by Ye.Ye. Sokolov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, at CPSU Central Committee Plenum 5 February]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades! On the whole I share the ideas and provisions of the draft CPSU Central Committee platform and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report, but I consider it necessary to voice a number of thoughts.

First. In our republic we often use these phrases as synonyms—the Belorussian Communist Party, the republican party organization. At an everyday level that is understandable. But from the political viewpoint the synonymity of these terms can be viewed with reservations. It is not the republican party organization, but the Belorussian Communist Party that needs a newly defined status. This will give the republic's Communists a new role, they will be not merely the agents, but the initiators, the creators of policy. And the powers of the republic Communist Party must be maximum powers—from the right to resolve all organizational, structural, cadre, and financial questions to the adoption of political program documents.

I will not say that all the republic's Communists share this view. Some say that the Belorussian Communist Party does not need its own program, since it would echo the CPSU Program. True, on questions of principle there can be no divergences. My position is this: I am in favor of autonomy for republican Communist Parties, but against their isolation, against federalism in the CPSU.

At the same time to fail to take into account national historical, political, socioeconomic, and other peculiarities in the development of a given republic is to fall prey to bureaucratic centralism. For instance, can anyone today dispute the fact that the elimination of the consequences of a technical and ecological disaster—the Chernobyl accident—is the program, or rather, one of the most important program goals, of the Belorussian Communist Party?

I propose that the following be included in Section 7: "Republic Communist Parties may have their own programs, and also other policy documents." As for the Statutes, in my opinion they should be the same for all the country's Communists.

The need to formulate our own program documents also makes the question of the timing of the next Belorussian Communist Party congress a matter of urgency for us. Many party organizations and individual Communists in the republic are proposing that the report and election campaign in the Belorussian Communist Party be held not before, but after the 28th CPSU Congress.

Second. We are asking ourselves these questions increasingly frequently: Why are party members leaving the CPSU, why are many of our comrades suffering from political passivity and indifference toward extremism and separatism? I agree that the answers must be sought primarily in the alienation of ordinary Communists and primary party organizations from the formulation of the CPSU's strategy and tactics for action.

And since we are talking about tactics, I must say that we grossly underestimate their importance. The party's political and ideological institutions have gone in for too much theorizing over problems that are by no means a priority, and have entirely neglected the formulation of specific means and methods of increasing the effectiveness of the activity of primary party organizations and stepping up their influence on the labor collectives and on sociopolitical processes in the period of perestroyka.

It can only be welcomed that the draft platform gives fairly wide prominence to avenues of party democratization that make it possible to transform the party into a dialectically developing, dynamic, self-renewing organization. However, some of the provisions are not sufficiently concrete. In particular, rules and procedures that would enable primary party organizations to exert a real influence on the activity of higher-ranking party organs are discussed only in general terms. Here the formulations should be more concrete, so as to orient Communists toward more productive discussion.

What am I referring to? Today, when we particularly need unity of will and action, is hardly the time to abandon one of the norms of democratic centralism, namely the binding nature of the decisions of higher party organs for lower organs. At the same time it is obvious that this norm has become ossified in its rigidity. Clearly this can be overcome by introducing into intraparty life a mechanism for "ratification" of the decisions of party committees by a majority of primary party organizations. And it must be the primary organizations, which will make them active and direct participants in the formulation of party policy. Of course, this should not be extended to the decisions of representative party organs—congresses and conferences. It is important clearly to stipulate the range of issues subject to "ratification" at all levels. For the local party committees, and also republic Communist Party Central Committee, this could cover the priorities in their activity, on questions of structure, personnel, and so forth. From the viewpoint of the real and practical influence of Communists both on the formulation of the policy of their immediate elected organ, and on the formation of the policy of the upper echelon of party leadership, this measure seems to me to be democratic and effective. It will help the voice of the primary organization to be heard with full force, and will make it possible to ensure the primacy of democratism within the twofold principle of democratic centralism.

At the same time the formation of an atmosphere of openness and the widening of opportunities for every Communist to participate in the formulation of party decisions inevitably places on the agenda the question of the unity of the party's will, the unity of the party as a political organization. Here what I mean by unity is not a state, but a process, which is more in accordance with the party's role today. This leads logically to the conclusion of the expediency of an intraparty rivalry between different approaches and platforms and of the protection of the minority's rights. The following formula can be envisaged: reliable protection of the dominant ideas within the party, and unfailing consideration for the opinion of the minority. Nor do I have any doubt that the unity of the party's will is impossible without a strengthening of discipline. The impression arises that recently we have been embarrassed to use these words. The "either-or" principle—either democracy or discipline—is not acceptable for us. It must be admitted with regret that discipline in our common home has disintegrated to a critical point. Unless this trend is halted, unless it is stopped resolutely and irreversibly, how will we implement the provisions contained in the CPSU Central Committee platform?

The difficult, large-scale work that lies ahead will demand not only from party members, but also from nonparty people and the whole of society a higher level of conscious discipline, political culture, and readiness to pool efforts and reach a consensus.

But it is, of course, up to us Communists to set the example. It is up to all those who consciously joined our political organization and who support the provisions of the CPSU Program and Statutes. We should tirelessly repeat Lenin's idea: A party without discipline is not a party. It would not be superfluous to remember this in the CPSU Central Committee platform too.

Third. In the process of perestroyka we are all changing and learning. That has become a commonplace. But does breaking with stereotypes and seeking new approaches and solutions imply destroying anything and everything or give us the right to swing from one extreme to the other? These thoughts come to mind every time I read in the press or hear on the radio arguments in favor of party committees without an apparatus, with the status of permanently operating bodies. But very serious questions arise here. Will this not restrict collectiveness in work? Will it not impoverish the spectrum of opinions of Communists sending their representatives to the raykom [rayon party committee] or gorkom [city party committee]? Will it not lead to superficiality in formulating decisions? And the main question here. If members of elected organs, especially those at the lowest level, are given professional status and are no longer part of the party masses, will this not weaken the CPSU's links with the people?

Fourth. Vagueness and reticence characterize a number of provisions of Section 2 of the platform. It says: "The CPSU believes that the existence of earned private and group property, which could develop efficiently in spheres such as agriculture, trade, public catering, consumer services, and others, is not in conflict with the present stage in the country's economic development."

What does "and others" mean? Ferrous metallurgy? Petrochemicals? Or, perhaps, the defense industry complex? Especially given that some people have excellent experience in this respect: People have even tried to acquire tanks, with all their armaments, through private channels for private ownership. In order, of course, more rapidly to join the Soviet nouveaux riches.

The platform is a policy document. And it would be wrong to expect it to show legalistic precision in its concepts. But even in a policy document such a complex concept for our society as private ownership should be delineated more clearly from the viewpoint of its spheres of application. Analysis shows that workers at the republic's industrial enterprises, in creating national income, received 37-40 percent of this income for personal consumption in the form of wages, while the greater part was channeled into the growth of fixed and circulating capital, the formation of social consumption funds, and the development of the social sphere. They therefore showed concern not only for themselves, but also for creating the conditions for the next generation. For decades our people have been raised in the spirit of "giving society more than yourself." For the sake of this noble social goal every working person in industry and also every peasant has sacrificed tens of thousands of rubles in the course of his work. They, as well as the veterans who have retired for a well-earned rest, are the true owners of everything they created. It is for them to decide what forms of ownership to have and in what proportions and ratios to combine them in order to make the fullest possible use of socialism's potential.

Fifth and last. The democratization of anarchy—that is what some journalists are calling the situation in the country. It is obviously stretching a point. But you cannot say that there are no grounds for this definition. People are tired of the intensifying disturbances and interethnic conflicts. The blood of the innocent is flowing. For weeks and even months on end, not merely individual enterprises, but whole regions are at a standstill.

In short, the situation requries a resolute strengthening of central authority.

The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee has an enormous responsibility to the people and the party. But are his powers appropriate to this responsibility? The point is that the head of state—who is the leader of the ruling party—should have powers that, without coming into conflict with the functioning of democratic institutions, would enable him to wield power where this is necessary in the interests of perestroyka, in the interests of the Soviet people.

Plenum Participants Interviewed on Developments

LD0502233290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Feb 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] After the first day of the plenum's work had ended, our correspondent met with some of the participants.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Dmitriy Kiselev] The first day in the work of the CPSU Central Committee plenum has just ended in the Kremlin in Moscow which, it is expected, will substantially revive the CPSU. The journalists who have gathered here at the Spasskiy Tower are literally catching plenum participants and fishing for sensations from them.

[Unidentified speaker] I hope the plenum will make such a decision on direct elections to the congress tomorrow.

[M.S. Kushnerenko, first secretary of the Kherson CPSU Obkom] Mikhail Sergeyevich made a report, which was not a long one, though it was a very specific, precise one, on the platform, the draft platform.

[Kiselev] Did Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev come out with an initiative with regard to Article 6 in the Constitution?

[Kushnerenko] Yes, that issue is included in the platform and was discussed in the speeches, in almost every speech.

[Kiselev] That is, it is expected that the CPSU Central Committee will come forward with a legislative initiative on repealing Article 6, or...

[Kushnerenko, interrupting] The ground work is being prepared for the 28th Congress, and this issue will be both discussed and decided there by the Communists, by all the Communists.

[Kiselev] Ah! Were the possibilities of a multiparty system in the Soviet Union discussed?

[Kushnerenko] There were speeches like that, and they were heard. There were several speeches. And the issue is reflected in the platform, but evidently it will be worked out conclusively by a commission and submitted for adoption by the plenum.

[Kiselev] Was the nature of coverage by the mass media discussed at the plenum?

[Kushnerenko] Yes, it was determined at first that the materials of the plenum will be covered by the mass media. The members of the Central Committee... all the participants, upheld this.

[Kiselev] Does this mean that tomorrow journalists will be allowed into the Kremlin?

[Kushnerenko] I cannot resolve that question. That is, nevertheless, a question for the plenum to resolve, is it not?

[Kiselev] Well, what did the plenum decide?

[Kushnerenko] The plenum adopted a decision that both the report and the speeches should be published, that the work of the plenum should be given coverage. [end recording]

Comrade Kushnerenko, who was interviewed by our correspondent, represents the Ukrainian Communist Party. You must have noticed, comrades, how many Muscovites were crowding around them, how they are all taking an interest in the course of the current plenum. I want to tell you additionally that in our program tomorrow you will be able to see interviews with participants in the plenum. We have already arranged it with many of them. The report by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, as well as all the documents adopted at the plenum, will be printed in the newspaper PRAVDA. So, tomorrow is the second day of work.

Lithuanian Party Leader Assesses CPSU Plenum

LD0602095290 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Excerpt] One third not bad or bearable speeches, and two thirds angry and reactionary speeches—such was the assessment of the discussions at the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee made by Secretary of the Independent Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Justas Paleckis. In a telephone interview with Lithuanian radio this evening, he noted that the majority of the Central Committee members are angry and furious because they feel that for them this is the last month in this hall. According to Justas Paleckis, the huge gathering of democratic forces that took place yesterday, which was a new event for Moscow, was described by many speakers as anarchy and counterrevolution.

Another secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Kestutis Glaveckas, said that when the plenum starts to discuss the separation of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party from the CPSU, the speeches will be even more angry and conservative. On the other hand, it is a novelty that speeches will be published in the press and, in the opinion of Kestutis Glaveckas, many speakers are omitting the most angry parts of their speeches. The famous Soviet opposition figure Boris Yeltsin told Glaveckas that the problem of the Lithuanian Communist Party could really be the most important as far as Mikhail Gorbachev is concerned, because he will most likely be severely attacked.

Reading his report to the Plenum today, Mikhail Gorbachev paid a great deal of attention to the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia, but did not mention the Lithuanian issue. [passage omitted]

CPSU Central Committee Plenum Continues 6 Feb

LD0602095390 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 6 TASS—A plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee, which opened on Monday, continues its work here today, discussing Mikhail Gorbachev's report on a draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the forthcoming 28th Congress of the party.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in a speech at the plenum on Monday, pointed out the need to renew the party, to cleanse it from everything that linked it with the authoritarian- bureaucratic system.

The draft platform contains proposals on changing the structure of higher party bodies. The meaning of the proposals, Gorbachev said, is to enhance the factor of democratism in the higher echelons of the party and its leading bodies.

He suggested reducing the number of members of the party Central Committee and proposed holding the 28th Congress late in June—early in July this year. Previously, the congress was planned to be held in October.

The plenum is being attended by the first secretaries of the central committees of the communist parties of the Union republics, territorial, regional and district committees of the party, and by the presidents of the presidiums of the supreme soviets and councils of ministers of the Union republics, who are not members of the CPSU's central bodies.

Taking part in the plenum's works are also a group of the first secretaries of city and district committees and secretaries of the party committees of large primary party organisations, as well as the leaders of ministries, departments, creative unions and organisations, by scientists, representatives of the Soviet Armed Forces, news organisations, and miners from some coal basins of the country.

Ligachev on Abolishing Party Monopoly

AU0602120290 Paris AFP in English 1123 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, Feb 6 (AFP)—The Soviet Politburo's conservative hardliner, Yegor Ligachev, backed the abolition of the Communist Party's political monopoly when he addressed a crucial Central Committee meeting here Tuesday, a participant said.

"All those who spoke today were in favour of the abolition of Article 6", which enshrines the party's leading role, Venyamin Midtsev, an academician and member of a central committee department told an AFP reporter outside the Kremlin.

He said that Mr. Ligachev made the longest of several speeches on Tuesday morning, "and the strongest". The highly orthodox Mr. Ligachev was much applauded at the end of his speech, according to Mr. Midtsev.

Mr. Ligachev's support for the radical proposals on party renewal outlined by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on Monday was a sign that a good part of the party conservatives were rallying to the idea of taking the first step towards a multiparty system, observers said.

Mr. Midtsev added that all the speakers at the opening session of the second and last day of the plenum had demanded direct elections to a party congress which is to approve the party platform to be adopted by the policy-making body later Tuesday.

Direct elections would ensure more democratic elections to the congress, which could otherwise be hampered by the powerful party apparatus.

The plenum, normally attended by only full and non-voting Central Committee members has been enlarged to include a number of guests for the key debate on the party's future.

Rally: Perestroyka Initiators Urged Not to 'Retreat'

PM0502200590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 6

[P. Gutiontov article: "Alarm and Hope. Postscript to the Moscow Rally"]

[Text] ...I made a note of the time: The column of demonstrators took exactly two hours to file past the IZVESTIYA building. The people were waving flags and placards which, incidentally, I shall refrain from quoting: If you so wished you could choose anything you wanted from them. There was virtually something for all tastes—such was the diversity of the people who had come out onto the capital's streets that day following an appeal from informal social organizations.

From the Park of Culture, along the Beltway and Gorkiy Street to Manezhnaya Square—that was where the rally was held. The neighboring buildings were symbolic: On one side was the Moskva Hotel, where the participants in the party Central Committee Plenum were staying, on the other side was the Kremlin, where the Plenum was to be held. Those who came to Manezhnaya were hoping they would be heard.

Yes, there were speeches which it is hard to call restrained and balanced, but they did not set the overall tone of the rally. The bulk of the Muscovites taking part in the Manezhnaya rally resolutely advocated uniting the initiators of perestroyka and democratic forces and called on all of society's healthy forces to do likewise. The rally resolution stated: "The policy of evenhandedness between conservatives and democrats is exhausted. The initiators of perestroyka should realize that they must no longer retreat under the onslaught of conservative forces—those forces are becoming increasingly cohesive and impudent." Incidentally, the demonstration and rally participants unambiguously expressed their vigorous rejection of the increasingly active "Pamyat" organization and those who support it.

Transcaucasus Situation

'Interfax' on Riga Talks' Possible Resumption

LD0602115990 Moscow World Service in Russian 1040 GMT 6 Feb 90

[From "Interfax" feature of "Soviet Union Day by Day" program]

[Text] (Ashot Manucharyan), spokesman for the Armenian Pannational Movement, has stated that the political consultations with representatives of the Azerbaijan People's Front in Riga will be continued as soon as the true situation in the villages of Azad and Kamo in Azerbaijan's Khanlarskiy Rayon, from which it is alleged that Armenians are being expelled, is made clear. An Interfax correspondent reports the text of a joint communique which has been agreed but has not been signed in Riga, because the consultations were broken off by the Armenian side. The Armenian side has stressed that recognition of the self-determination of the people of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is a most important factor for stabilizing the situation in the republic. The Azerbaijani side has demanded that Armenia abandon territorial claims against Azerbaijan.

[The Moscow World Service in Russian feature "Interfax" was monitored at 1040 GMT on 6 February. It appeared within the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program. The "Interfax" feature was introduced as follows.

"We present reports from the independent news agency Interfax. We remind you that the opinions of its correspondents do not always coincide with the opinion of our editorial staff."]

Central Press Continues Reportage of Events

Azerbaijan Status Update

PM0502212590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Telephone dispatch by special correspondent Ruslan Ignatyev: "Complex Situation"]

[Text] Baku—Some buildings still carry graffiti from extremists addressed to the leadership of the country and the Army and to the city's Russian population. However, other slogans are now appearing in the streets calling for the consolidation of healthy forces and the speedy extrication of the republic from the prevailing situation. But the situation in Azerbaijan's capital and other cities remains complex. Many motor transport enterprises have been blockaded since early morning.

"The buses, trolleybuses, and streetcars that went out had their way blocked by extremists," A. Drozdov, an operations group officer said. "People couldn't get to work on time. The first day of the working week was virtually wrecked. Leaflets calling for the strike to continue have been distributed at enterprises."

According to the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] State Committee for Statistics, on the first day of the new working week in the republic 57.7 percent of enterprises were working and output was 54.2 percent of the plan level. Losses in the 18 January through 5 February 1990 period were R347 million throughout Azerbaijan, including R172 million in Baku City.

Azerbaijan's enterprises are currently experiencing an acute power shortage. This has been caused by an accident at No. 1 Power Unit of the Azerbaijan State Regional Electric Power Station—one of the largest stations in the Transcaucasus.

"When the power unit was being brought up to working capacity there was an explosion," V. Gasanov, chief engineer at the "Azenergo" Production Association, said. "As a result, the roof of the machine hall collapsed and there was a major fire. Another three 300-megawatt units were shut down because of the accident. A special commission is working to discover the cause of the accident."

There have again been threats about the use of force. Enterprises at the "Azerelektroterm" Production Association are hardly working at all. A rally of around 10,000 people was held in the town of Agdash. Those present called for the release of the leaders of the Azerbaijan People Front of and the lifting of the state of emergency in Baku. Leaflets have also been distributed in Lenkoran and Gyandzha. They call for riots to be organized on the state border, for the strikes to be continued, for a campaign of disobedience vis-a-vis soviet and party organs of power, and for the disruption of the draft to the Armed Forces. Attacks on troop posts and subunits continue. According to operational summary figures, a guard post was shot at from passing Zhiguli cars late last night in the vicinity of Baku's Novobakinskiy Oil Refinery.

Things are still tense in the border regions between Azerbaijan and Armenia. A local resident was killed by persons unknown near the population center of Barkhudarly.

The situation on the Azerbaijani Railroad at the moment is serious. For almost an entire month freight trains have stood idle on a number of tracks. Because the line was completely closed for a long time, hundreds of trains intended for the Transcaucasus have been left without locomotives on many of the country's railroads. These are trains carrying food, fuel, petroleum products, timber, construction materials, and consumer goods. For eight days there was no traffic through the Beyuk-Kyasik Junction into Georgia or through Samur into Azerbaijan. As a result more than 12,000 railcars have not been delivered.

"We have now 'dealt with' most of the trains intended for Azerbaijan," G. Fadeyev, first deputy minister of railways, said. "The previous restrictions on despatching freight to the Azerbaijan SSR because of the track closure have been lifted. The line from Samur (a junction on the North Caucasus Railroad) to Baku and from Baku to Tbilisi via Beyuk-Kyasik Station has started working normally. In this sector trains are currently running almost to schedule, 55 trains a day in each direction [55 par poyezdov] have been running through Samur and 30 in each direction through Beyuk-Kyasik. In short, freight—those are 13,000 cars—is moving into Azerbaijan every day. But if the republic's enterprises are unable to unload them within a short period, we will be forced once again to take measures to limit the dispatch of freight. Our entire rail transport system is being plagued by the holdups in this area."

Here is what I was told by P. Gerasimov, an officer with the operations group organizing the protection of the Azerbaijani Railroad.

"The crime situation here remains complex. Important railroad installations—stations, junctions, bridges, tunnels, and open lines—are being guarded by Ministry of Internal Affairs and Soviet Army troops. Military headquarters have been organized at main stations. It is only thanks to these measures that rail traffic has been resumed on virtually all sections of line, but the question of trains entering Armenia from the Nakhichevan Section and the passage of trains into Azerbaijan along the Megrinskiy Section has still not been resolved."

Despite the stabilization of the work of rail transport, blackmail and threats from extremist groups persist. In the town of Kazi-Magomed representatives of the Azerbaijan People's Front have been calling on railroad workers to down tools. They have been threatened. At Baladzhary Junction they are being prohibited from carrying out repair work, particularly at night. At Kishly Station extremists have been trying to disrupt train traffic. There have also been cases of armed attacks.

One last point: In my previous dispatch (No. 35) I reported casualties among servicemen during the state of emergency, without breaking down the figures by republic. This immediately caused a reaction in one of the republics. Let me specify matters—no soldiers have been killed in Armenia, three have been injured.

Weapons Return in Armenia

PM0502140190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by special correspondents S. Bablumyan and F. Ivanov: "Weapons Being Sought"]

[Text] Yerevan—Relative calm has settled in Armenia in the past few days. Of course, it is hard to say right now that life has returned to normal: It is still cold in the apartments, the electricity is turned off now here, now there, dozens of vehicles stand in line for gasoline—there is an acute shortage of fuel in the republic.... But there are increasingly few alarming reports from the regions bordering on Azerbaijan. The wave of weapons seizures is also abating.

People need guarantees of a normal life but unfortunately the realities are such that the subunits of the Soviet Army and internal troops introduced in all 12 border regions remain the guarantee of calm. For these boys, who do not take off their bulletproof vests for days at a time, who sometimes sleep with their submachineguns next to them, the "All Clear" signal has not yet rung out.

These same soldiers met us at the entrance to the building of the Yerevan garrison headquarters, where we arranged to meet with USSR People's Deputy Major General M. Surkov, chief of the political selection. On Mikhail Semenovich's desk was a report he had only just received on the weapons which are being sought.

"There are two main problems which now perturb all representatives of the Army and law and order services in Armenia," he says. "The first is to prevent the escalation of tension on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border. The second is to return all weapons stolen in the republic in recent weeks. Now that an agreement on ending the shooting seems to have been reached, people must be persuaded to part with their weapons."

"IZVESTIYA has published USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs reports every day giving numbers for the weapons stolen and returned. Nonetheless we should like to know the exact figures in order to have an idea of the scale of your work."

"I shall cite the main figures. But first I shall stress that during the entire time that the situation in the republic was being aggravated not a single instance of the theft of weapons from military units was recorded. All the weapons were taken in the institutions of the paramilitary guard, internal affairs departments, the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy, and educational establishments. So here are the figures for the morning of 3 February. Some 16 armored training vehicles have been stolen and seven have been returned. They include 10 stolen armored personnel carriers (four have been returned) and two tanks of which one is being sought—a T-34 museum piece. Of four infantry combat vehicles one is being sought. Three training mortars were stolen. Two have been returned and both of the two grenade throwers stolen have been returned. A very large number of hail suppression guns were stolen—133—but no more than 15 percent of them are now 'in people's hands.'

"The firearms situation is most complex. Sporting and hunting rifles are nonetheless being returned. Of 3,105 sporting rifles stolen 1,305 are still unrecovered and of 2,286 hunting rifles stolen 819 are still unrecovered. But so far matters are more serious with regard to combat weapons. Some 133 AKA-74 submachineguns and 41 AKM submachineguns were stolen—and not one has been returned. Of the 167 carbines seized 160 are unrecovered and of 518 Makarov pistols 359 have not been recovered. Those are the current figures."

"A question which perturbs everyone: Please tell us what you intend to do to confiscate this arsenal?"

"First of all I shall say that weapons are being returned to us every day so I think that when this interview is published the situation will have improved. Nonetheless we are constantly performing explanatory work and trying to act by persuasion. An appeal from the official organs calling on the population to surrender their weapons has been published in the local press. During personal meetings we try to persuade people that now additional Army and internal troops forces have been brought into the republic there is no need for them to defend themselves against anyone with weapons in their hands."

"Nonetheless there are still many weapons in people's possession. Why do you think people are in no hurry to part with them?"

"When we meet with people we frequently hear fears expressed that the army will be unable to protect them, especially when the time comes to return to their former billets. We try to dispel this alarm as we can."

"Your position cannot be called a temporizing one. But as far as we know you are trying to avoid resorting to strong-arm methods...."

"I shall cite just one example. We recently received information that there was military equipment in a barn in a village in Idzhevanskiy Rayon. Some people suggested: Why stand on ceremony, we should take it ourselves by force at once. One can only guess what that 'seizure' might have cost. I flew to the village with two officers and representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the prosecutor's office and informal organizations. We talked with people. The result was that all the arms were handed over voluntarily.

"I am sure that only through dialogue and the elaboration of political decisions will we be able to extinguish the conflict and return people's trust, and that means returning weapons as well."

Arms Charges Sentencing in Baku

PM0502092790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 90 Second Edition p 8

[AZERINFORM-TASS report under general heading "Emergency": "Situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia"]

[Text] Baku, 3 Feb—A meeting has been held here between A.N. Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and representatives of labor collectives from associations, enterprises, and transport and construction organizations. The discussion covered the working class role in the difficult process of normalizing the situation, and its tasks in speedily restoring production rhythm and making good the losses that have taken place.

It was noted that the state of the republic's economy is causing serious concern and that new losses—which would be a severe burden for working people—must not be allowed to occur.

The trial of Antonyan and Amirdzhonyan, who were arrested in Lachinskiy Rayon, has been held in Baku. They were carrying firearms and explosives and put up armed resistance to law-enforcement personnel. The criminals were sentenced to 10 and 9 years' imprisonment respectively in an intensified regime colony.

Nakhichevan—Tension throughout the autonomous republic as a whole is diminishing. Most industrial and construction organizations are working.

Things are quiet on the Soviet-Iranian border. As before, the residents of border villages maintain friendly relations with the border guards. Meetings are being held with workers at party and soviet organs and with representatives of the People's Front of Nakhichevan.

Railroad bridges and tunnels in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic's Megrinskiy Rayon are also under military control.

Moscow Radio Coverage of Transcaucasus Conflict

Transportation Situation

LD0502171790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] The inhabitants of Baku found damp and foggy weather awaiting them on the morning of the first day of the working week. Many people hurrying to enterprises and offices were unable to get to work on time. Municipal transportation was operating sporadically; only the subway was working. There have been signs of pickets appearing on the transportation system. In the city there is talks about strikes at enterprises although no one can provide any precise figures at present. Nevertheless, as reported in the city party committee, a particularly large number of losses is expected in the machine-building industry.

In the republican motor vehicle transportation ministry, they were unable to discuss any preliminary figures concerning municipal transportation drivers not going to work.

The tempo of the movement of trains at trunk line junctions has increased considerably in the past 24 hours at the Azerbaijani railway directorate: 55 trains left on the Derbent routes, while 34 were received.

On the Tbilisi section of the Transcaucasian railway, 25 freight trains were handed over, which is one-quarter more than last Friday. At the present time trains are running to Stepanakert and Askeran in Nagorno-Karabakh, and also via Idzhevan station to Armenia carrying foodstuffs, construction materials, and fuel.

Continuing Strike in Baku

LD0502180290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Special correspondents Islam Kuliyev and Leonid Lazarevich dispatch from Baku]

[Text] The beginning of a new working week has not brought any substantial changes in the work of Baku enterprises. We were told at the city party committee that today something like 60 percent of industrial enterprises were working. A considerable proportion of those on strike connect the continuation of the strike with the existence of the state of emergency in Baku, and they are prepared to go to work if it is lifted. It must be said that the official information that we broadcast does bring protests from some of the population. On the streets, they very often say that virtually the whole of industry is not working. At the party city committee they emphasized to us that it is mainly the city's machine-building complex that is gripped by the strike.

I am risking causing the dissatisfaction of many people in Baku, but all the same, I reckon that the state of emergency is at present acting as a stabilizing factor in the republic. In my opinion, the presence of the military promotes order and is acting like a cold shower on those people who are capable of aggressive actions. There are such people in any town in our country. But it is a matter of great regret that here in Baku, some of them, taking advantage of the situation, are calling themselves defenders of the people's interests. But that is not so, and cannot be so.

According to AZERINFORM, there was an emergency at power set no. 1 of the Azerbaijan GRES [state regional electric power station], the biggest power station in Transcaucasus, yesterday afternoon. The causes of the emergency are as yet unclear. It happened when the power set was being brought back to working operation following a brief repair. An explosion resounded in the machine room, as a result of which the roof collapsed and a fire started. Fortunately, nobody was hurt. Another two sets also went out of order. True, they have now started working again. Steps are being taken to put the final set into operation, and that may happen this evening.

The situation on the railways is putting the city's oil refining enterprises in a difficult position. Because of the lack of railway tankers, the plants in this industry may be halted literally any day now. The lack of tankers is caused by the fact that the railwaymen are refusing to transport finished oil products, since they have no guarantee of safety while passing through Armenian territory.

Duties, Purpose of Internal Troops

LD0202124190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] One is put on one's guard and worried by the fact that the calls by the commandant of the special region which includes the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and the Agdamskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan, the calls for people to hand in weapons voluntarily, are not meeting with proper understanding among the local population. The subunits of internal troops in Nagorno-Karabakh are continuing their opposition to armed groups on both sides. As is known, members of the union monitoring and observation commission on the NKAO, with Comrade Foteyev, its charman, at their head, arrived in Stepanakert on 31 January. People link their hopes for an effective normalization of the situation in the region with the work of this commission, and one would like these hopes to be realized. But for the present, as I say, the situation is being controlled thanks only to the presence there of the internal troops and thanks to their resolute measures. I askd Colonel (Viktor Sechenykh), deputy commandant of the special region, to describe the political position of the sub-units of internal troops:

[Begin Sechenykh recording] We officers of the Commandant's Office of the special region and the personnel of internal troops which operate with us once again have to state that it is our direct responsibility to accompany convoys of citizens of whatever nationality as they travel through the territory of the NKAO and the Agdamskiy Rayon and the rayons adjacent to them. At the same time, our servicemen carry full responsibility for the lives and security of the people who trust themselves to them regardless of their nationality. I want to say to everyone once again that the protection of public order and the defense of the constitutional rights and the dignity of residents are the main tasks that have been set the personnel of the internal troops. Fulfilment of these functions excludes any subjective approach to the solution of any problems, the defense of anyone's purely national interests, or the imposition of political solutions. We are here in order to prevent clashes between the two peoples and to ensure the security of the population of the NKAO and adjacent rayons, and we will make every effort to fulfil this responsible task.

However, as is shown by events, nationalists on both sides are doing everything and stopping at nothing in order to frustrate the efforts of our servicemen aimed at settling the situation in our region. The personnel of the troops and the law-enforcement bodies, fulfilling their task in accordance with the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 15 January 1990, declaring a state of emergency in the NKAO and several other rayons, correctly understand their task: They are carrying out their duty correctly and with complete responsibility and they will fulfill it to the end. [end recording]

French, British Journalists Reportedly Detained

LD0302190990 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] The situation in Baku is gradually returning to normal. The curfew has been reduced again; now it is in effect from midnight till five in the morning. The people have been trying to ease the tension.

A controversial report has arrived from Azerbaijan's KGB. French newsmen are reported to have been detained in Nakhichevan on the 20th January for violating the regime of the border area. They had with them the addresses and phone numbers of some leaders of Armenia's informal associations and notes on the amount and types of military equipment.

On 27th January French citizens accredited in Moscow as photo correspondents of the Sigma and Gamma news agencies appeared illegally in the Nakhichevan autonomous republic and on 31st January British subjects working for the BBC were detained for violating the regime of the border zone.

All information concerning these incidents has been sent to the USSR Foreign Ministry which is expected to take appropriate action.

That was a report from Azerbaijan's capital, Baku.

Moscow TV Updates Transcaucasus Situation

Army Company Goes AWOL

LD0502231590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2115 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Now an event we have never come across before in our journalistic practice. On the night of 21 January, there was an unusual occurrence at a unit of the Transcaucasian Military District. A company, nearly in its entirety—that's some 70 men—went absent without leave [AWOL]. Today the group of soldiers made their way to Moscow. Now they are at the Moscow State University Student Information Agency, which is where our correspondent went.

[Begin recording] [First youth] We have come here to Moscow to see the minister of defense to tell him about our difficulties connected with....

[Reporter, interrupting] What do you mean you have come? As I understand it, you went AWOL.

[First youth] Well, we have gone AWOL, so to speak. Run away, as they say.

[Second youth] I am not refusing to serve, you see, I am not refusing to serve. None of our lads are refusing to serve, you see. But how can it be that the company sergeant major can take any one soldier and sell him to a civilian for a bottle of brandy, so that he goes to work for him, the soldier goes to work for him, you see. It's disgraceful, officers selling men, for a bottle of brandy, for money, you see. To get leave, to be able to go home on leave you have to pay R10 for every day. Where are we supposed to get that kind of money from?

[Third youth] We are soldiers, we have to eat, we work, we put in a lot of effort. We come out for work at 8:30 AM and don't come back until 8:00 or 9:00 PM. We have our supper and we go out to work again, because they set us norms out of this world.

[Unidentified voice] And no days off.

[Third youth] At the same time, our company sergeant major drives up in a Kamaz truck to the storage tent and loads it up with our food, the condensed milk, the corned beef, things we are entitled to under the alpine rations, because we are in an earthquake zone, and he takes it home. We wrote to the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and we wrote to the officer commanding the Transcaucasian Military District, I think, but we had no replies to our letters whatsoever.

[Correspondent] How long ago did you write?

[Third youth] As far as I can remember, we wrote some time around October. [video shows group of youths in civilian outfits being ushered into a room; interviewees.] [end recording]

[Announcer] Only one side of this incredible story is incredible, the other side is typical. There will, of course, be a sequal to it, which we shall bring you in the next edition of Night-Time News.

Refugee Job Appeal Launched

LD0602000990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2115 GMT 5 Feb 90

[From "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The situation in Transcaucasus: Today the Baku commandant reported that during the past 24 hours there were no serious crimes or violations of the law in the city. But this hardly is a basis for a sigh of relief. The conflict which has died down right now has given rise to new problems that require immediate solutions. Events in Azerbaijan and Armenia have driven thousands of people out, depriving them of work, home, wages, and normal family life. Today, they have to survive on a fairly small allowance and in effect, wander from place to place. Of course, we could simply count on the appropriate services; let those whose duty it is sort them out, but as they say, no man is an island. We have to help the refugees jointly, all together.

Last Sunday, Eduard Sagalayev, anchorman of the "Seven Days" program, proposed the setting up of a special foundation for helping the refugees, personally contributing his fees for a 15-hour video program. The Television News Service has decided to make its own contribution. We have organized an entire program, called Tele- exchange [Telebirzha], together with the Migration Service only just established at the USSR State Labor Committee [Goskomstrud].

[Begin recording] [P.S. Rudev, head of the USSR Migration Service] I would like to appeal to the leaders of ministries and departments, to the managers of enterprises, organizations, and institutions. I would like to appeal to the leaders of executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies: Could all those able to offer employment, at the same time providing housing—that is the main condition, of course, the provision of housing, whether temporary or permanent—please let Central Television or us, at Goskomtrud, know so that we can offer these people your services in employing them.

There are people here representing practically every industry in our national economy. Many of them are specialists. They worked in engineering, in petrochemicals, in construction. There are a great many drivers, staffs working in services, lecturers, doctors, mid-level medical staffs, and so on. All of them want to work. All of them want to be useful to themselves and to the people. [end recording]

You can send in telegrams or telephone on 215 3235 daily between 1100 and 1300. The Kontakt information service is ready to collaborate. [end recording]

TASS Updates Transcaucasus Developments

Situation 'Under Control'

LD0502130690 Moscow TASS in English 1254 GMT 5 Feb 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksander Borisov]

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—Security forces and troops are making progress in their bid to stabilise the situation in Azerbaijan. The situation is under control, a USSR Ministry of Internal spokesman told TASS today. Thirty-seven people have been detained in the republic during the past 24 hours for violating the curfew.

According to the ministry, no inter-ethnic incidents have been registered during the past 24 hours in Baku. Public catering enterprises and transport facilities operated normally. The confiscation and voluntary delivery of arms were continued.

The situation remained unchanged in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. Two freight trains arrived at Stepanakert railway station yesterday. Sixty-nine freight trains, including 52 destined for Armenia, remain idle on Azerbaijanian railways.

There are no substantial changes in the situation in Armenia. Earlier stolen weapons are being returned to the authorities in several districts of the republic. Three hail control guns were retrieved. A stolen T-34 tank was discovered on February 3 in Artasat district of Armenia and delivered to the district internal affairs department. There were exchanges of fire around Armenian and Azerbaijanian border villages.

Twenty freight trains passed through on the Transcaucasian railway during the past 24 hours.

Fire Cuts Power Output

LD0502171290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1620 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Baku, 5 Feb (TASS)—Enterprises in Azerbaijan are today experiencing an acute shortage of electric power. The cause is an accident at the first power set of the Azerbaijan GRES [State regional electrical power station]; one of the largest stations in Transcaucasia, situated 450 kilometers northwest of Baku, on the outskirts of Mingechaur.

"There was an explosion as the power set was reaching working conditions," V. Gasanov, chief engineer of the "Azenergo" production association, said. "As a result, the engine room roof collapsed, and a big fire broke out. Thanks to the selfless actions of power workers and firemen it was quickly localized. Nevertheless, another three sets, with a capacity of 300 megawatts each, were halted as a result of the accident.

Two of the power sets halted yesterday have already been connected to the network, and efforts are being taken to put another into operation.

A special commission is at work at the site to elucidate the cause of the accident.

'Fewer People' Detained

LD0502214790 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Baku February 5 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Pavel Sinyakov and Vladimir Fomin:

"Baku has been quiet for the past 24 hours," Baku commandant Vladimir Dubinyak told TASS today. "No serious crimes or violations of law have been registered. Military patrols have detained fewer people—one person was detained for violating the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the state of emergency and 66 for violating the curfew. [no closing quote mark received]

In the morning many people were late for work as the city transportation system is still operating only partially. The underground operates normally, at a number of stations people are allowed in without paying the fare. Pickets are reported to have blocked traffic in some cases.

Rumours about strikes at industrial enterprises are circulating but no accurate information is available. Losses from stoppages are expected to be particularly great in machine-building, a city committee spokesman told TASS.

The situation is "favourable" in light industry enterprises in Baku, with more than 50 per cent of the work force reporting for work. However, work has not resumed in full even there: People get together to discuss the situation in the republic and voice demands for lifting the curfew.

Even preliminary information about the number of public transport drivers failing to report for work is not available at the republican motor transport ministry.

A spokesman for the Azerbaijani Railway Administration told TASS that the rate of train departures has increased considerably over the past 24 hours: 55 trains have left towards Derbent, 34 trains have arrived and 25 goods trains have been transferred to the Tbilisi railway Administration. This is a 25 per cent increase over last Friday.

Trainloads of foodstuffs, building materials and fuel have been dispatched towards Stepanakert and Askeran in Azerbaijan's Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region and towards Armenia via the Izdevan station.

Power supplies to industrial enterprises in Azerbaijan were disrupted folloiwng an explosion on Sunday at unit I of the thermal power plant located outside Mingechaur 450 kilometers northwest of Baku.

Four units were shut down following the explosion. Unit one sustained considerable damage. Two units have been restarted and the third one is expected to reach operational conditions by tonight.

A special commission has been set up to investigate the causes of the incident at the Mingechaur power plant, the biggest in the Transcaucasus.

Border Returning to 'Normal'

LD0602100890 Moscow TASS in English 0948 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 6 TASS—"The Soviet-Iranian border regime is little-by-little coming back to normal," Major General Gennadiy Martynov, deputy head of the political administration of the border troops of the USSR State Security Committee, told the GUDOK newspaper.

"However, the situation may become aggravated at any moment as long as the basic matter has not been resolved: a streamlined procedure for the crossing of the border.

"Already now, though, we are giving an opportunity to the residents of the border areas to go to the Aras river, for ablutions, for example, at established places."

The number of smuggling attempts across the border has not diminished, Martynov said.

"We detain border crossers trying to smuggle roubles, gold and foreign currency. Appropriate measures have been taken to close this channel for a probable supply of arms into our country. But so far we have no evidence that arms are supplied from Iran into the USSR."

Yerevan Radio Reviews Events in, Around Armenia

Strikes in Stepanakert

NC0602103990 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] The first day of the new week was also a non-working day for Stepanakert. Once again, industrial enterprises, construction organizations, and transportation and municipal services were not operating. Pupils are staying away from school; pre-school institutions and stores are shut.

Foteyev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's monitoring and observation commission on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], held meetings at the end of last week with the USSR people's deputies from the NKAO and a number of oblast and city party and soviet leaders at the city party committee headquarters.

They examined issues that are causing concern to the local population. These relate to the powers of the state of emergency commandant in the region, the reasons for administrative detention and the ultimate fate of those detained, the operation of the oblast mass media, and other issues. Major General Safonov, commandant of the state of emergency in the region, was present in one of the meetings.

Ovanesyan, editor of KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH, told an ARMENPRES correspondent that they informed the representative of Moscow [Foteyev] about the 31 January order of the commandant of the state of emergency region which stipulated that the editor of the oblast paper, editorial collegium, or persons representing them in the publication of the paper are under the jurisdiction of the commandant of the state of emergency region and the political department of the commandant's office. It was also ordered that the paper be published only in Stepanakert and distributed within the NKAO. Taking the copies, [word indistinct] films, and duplicates of the pages of the paper outside the oblast is prohibited. Ovanesyan added that the paper's editorial collective, just like the NKAO's public, expresses its displeasure over this decision, because, in our view, it exceeds those powers of the commnadant which were defined in the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet presidium on the introduction of a state of emergency in the region. What is more, this decision infringes upon the citizen's rights of nearly 60,000 subscribers to the paper in more than 200 cities outisde the NKAO, not to mention the financial and moral damage done to the editorial collective of the paper.

As was the case before, there are no contacts between the Azerbaijani representatives and republic's organizing committee in Stepanakert on the one hand and the local authorities on the other.

The operational situation in the NKAO is relatively calm and is under the control of the army servicemen.

The issue of when the blockade will be lifted from the Goris road is troubling the Armenian population. The prolonged break in the reception of Armenian television also perturbs them.

'Tense' Situation 4-5 Feb

NC0602093490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] An ARMENPRES correspondent has reported the following from the operational staff of the republican council on the special situation:

The situation in the republic was tense on 4-5 February. The Soviet army servicemen and internal troops came under fire from the direction of Lachinskiy Rayon. They returned fire and the exchange of shots ceased. There was again shooting from Lachinskiy Rayon in the evening of the same day. As a result, a resident of Kornidzor village was injured. There was only one attempt to seize arms during the night and it was foiled. A training armored car and a museum-piece tank have been returned.

Only YAK-40 planes were able to fly to Stepanakert. There has been one military helicopter flight to Getashen. It took a group of doctors there and returned bringing a number of patients to Yerevan.

Despite the promises of the opposite side, the representatives of our republic were unable to secure the return of the young man who was taken hostage by the armed raiders of Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic.

Deputies Score Interregional Group

NC0502163690 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 4 Feb 90

[From republican press review]

[Text] The press has published the appeal of a group of USSR deputies from Armenia to the Interregional Group of USSR deputies. What prompted the appeal was the recent press conference given for the foreign and Soviet reporters in Moscow during which the members of the Interregional Group examined the problems of Transcaucasia.

The appeal says: Instead of strongly condemning the Azerbaijan People's Front, which is guilty of massacring the Armenian population of Baku and of organizing the killing of Soviet troops and their families, you have expressed doubts about the expediency of introducing a state of emergency in Baku. (?Instead of demanding) urgent measures from the government to stop the unbridled acts, were you waiting for the slaughter of the last Armenian to remorsefully declare that there was no more need to introduce the troops into the city? No, you cannot convince anybody about the existence of democratic forces within the Azerbaijan People's Front. To be a democrat, one must be a human being at least. The thesis that the Azerbaijan People's Front has two wings, one extremist and another democratic, is nothing but an attempt to preserve the core of that starkly chauvinistic organization. The appeal says: We call on you not to mislead public opinion at home and abroad any longer by attempting to reveal ostensible democratic forces within the Azerbaijan People's Front.

'Distorted' Reporting Charged

NC0302135990 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 2 Feb 90

[(Sergey Davchyan) commentary]

[Excerpts] The attention of the Soviet and international press remained focused on the incidents in the Transcaucasus throughout the month of January. These incidents were numerous and alarming in nature: Devastation along the entire Soviet-Iranian border; the undeclared civil war in the Armenian-Azerbaijani border areas, Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO] and the villages of Shaumyanskiy Rayon and Getashen subrayon; and the massacre of the Armenians in Baku.

The emergency steps taken by the USSR Supreme Soviet helped to improve the situation in the region to some extent. However, the tension remains. Under these conditions, when it is necessary to search for ways to solve the interethnic conflict, calm heated passions, and achieve reconciliation at the negotiating table between the representatives of two peoples whom destiny has made neighbors, various news media of the center continue to present facts and realities in a partial, disrespectful, and at times (?vile) way.

This approach was also used two years ago after the Sumgait tragedy. The (?reason for this) is clear: To convince the Soviet public that the reason for the tension in the region is the result of the demands of the Armenian people in the NKAO and their rejection of the decisions adopted by the central authorities. [passage omitted]

The January incidents clarified the Azerbaijani nationalists' intentions. They seek to exploit this Armenian pretext to gain the support of the Islamic governments in order to leave the structure of the Soviet Union.

It was hoped that the various news media would inform their readers of the truth, but this, alas, has not been the case. On the one hand, they condemn the representatives of the Azerbaijan People's Front, but on the other hand they apologize to them. They try to equate the Azerbaijani nationalist (?bullies) and the Armenians who have risen to defend their people. The news media thus continue to portray the incidents in a distorted manner.

For example, an article discussing the incidents in Baku which appeared in the 30 January issue of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA under the headline "There Are Victims" said: It is now clear that the issue of reviewing the Transcaucasian borders triggered a civil war.

We do not think that the Armenians could have been the target of a criticism more serious than this. This statement implies that it is the Armenians' fault because they did not want to live as slaves within the structure of the great Azerbaijan and that they triggered a civil war because they raised their voices for liberation.

This correspondent from Moscow then continued to distort the facts by writing that Armenia responded to Sumgait by increasing the suppression of the Azerbaijanis living in the republic and in the NKAO in an effort to force them to leave.

It seems that under the conditions of interethnic tension, the author of such allegations should have been better informed of the facts and not tried to (?inflame sentiments). Apparently, this confused correspondent either forgot or did not know that the forced deportation of Armenians from all Armenian-inhabited areas in Azerbaijan had been going on for seven to eight months by the time the exodus of Azerbaijanis from Armenia began. The Armenians fled Azerbaijan leaving everything behind, while the Azerbaijanis left Armenia at their own volition and took everything they had with them. Furthermore, the number of Azerbaijanis in the NKAO did not only not decrease, but actually increased.

The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent, continuing his (?distortions), wrote that it was allegedely those Azerbaijanis who had been forcibly deported from Armenia and who had been left homeless and jobless who massacred the Armenians in Baku. In order to prove this, the correspondent wrote: [Words indistinct] all of them were Azerbaijanis who had left the Armenian rayons, the NKAO, and the blockaded Nakhichevan.

Not only is the author of this article a, quote, great expert on interethnic relations, unquote, but also a contemporary Sherlock Holmes who wants to prove that the genocide in Baku and the [words indistinct] were only dreams of the so-called Armenian (?pillagers). [passage omitted]

What we have to do is to hope and to wait. We should wait until the vast masses of the country come to learn the facts that are today (?not being correctly portrayed) by the central news agencies today.

Baku Radio Carries Announcements of Events

Commandant's 6 Feb Notice

NC0602085590 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0430 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Notice by military commandant of Baku City dated 6 February—read by announcer]

[Text] Attention! The situation in the city was peaceful last night. The operative situation has not changed. From the point of view of the curfew regime, public rules are being observed through the efforts of the military servicemen and the internal affairs department personnel.

Nineteen individuals were detained for violating the decree on the state of emergency, nine individuals were detained for violating the curfew, six individuals were detained for [words indistinct], and one person was detained for committing a crime.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku City.

Notice on Security Measures

NC0502194090 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Notice by Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku City on 5 February—read by announcer]

[Text] No killings or violations of the law have been recorded in Baku today. Three individuals were detained for breaching the USSR Supreme Soviet's decree declaring a state of emergency in Baku, and 32 others were detained for violating the curfew.

The leaders of (?the party organs), the internal affairs organs, and the military servicemen are taking measures to maintain the people's security and to protect public order. Abbasov, a worker affiliated with the [name indistinct] gas extraction administration, was wounded (?as a result of an incident) at the entry to the [word indistinct]. The person responsible for the explosion has been identified as Veliyev, a cooperative worker. He threw a homemade explosive device from the window. Criminal charges have been brought against Veliyev.

The military units are still being fired upon. Someone in a passing car opened automatic fire on a military unit in the district where the Lenin oil refinery is located, but no one was harmed. The military servicemen (?did not return fire). Such insidious activities not only threaten the military servicemen's lives, but they also endanger the security of the city's population.

Once again I urge the citizens to assist the military leaders and the internal affairs organs in finding and collecting firearms and explosives in order to avoid meaningless casualties. The leading officials of the establishments which use explosive substances must increase controls for storing such substances.

Regardless of the effort made by the party organs of the republic's capital, certain forces who do not approve of the (?stabilized situation) continue to obstruct normal operation of public transport services, and [word indistinct] establishments as in the past. According to the republic's state statistics committee, 45 to 50 percent of the establishments are operating [words indistinct].

I urge you to restore normal life and resume work. The state of the economy is creating a hopeless situation and serious (?anxiety). The [word indistinct], which has fallen on the workers like a heavy load cannot be allowed. Other ways must be sought to remove the crisis, and I believe that every honest person agrees with this. I also believe that the workers' class will voice its views concerning the difficult procedures required to normalize the situation.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku City

Azerbaijan Veterans Appeal

NC0502161190 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Appeal from "council of veterans of Azerbaijan's party, war, work and USSR Armed Forces veterans to republic's workers"]

[Text] Dear fellow countrymen, we, the veterans, sharing your grief, appeal to all workers during these difficult days to consider seriously the future of the people of Azerbaijan, particularly its youth, the development of the republic, the improvement of the welfare of the workers, the establishment of security and safety for citizens, the stabilization of the political situation, the strengthening of law and order in the republic, and the Azerbaijani people's unique concept of people's friendship. Within this context, we urge you to consider your responsibility in the establishment of normal life and work in the work collectives and educational institutions and in the removal of economic backwardness. We also urge you to wage a resolute struggle against those who spread rumors and who try to strain the situation, and particularly interethnic relations.

The people of Azerbaijan are internationalist. They have lived in friendship with many of the peoples of our country. They maintain this friendship now and will continue to maintain it in the future. It is only the determination of the people of Azerbaijan that can contain the forces trying to realize their deceitful aims against our republic by turning the other peoples, particularly the Russian people, against the people of Azerbaijan.

It must be remembered that the strengthening of law and order and adherence to the demands of the state of emergency will accelerate the abolition of the state of emergency and the withdrawal of military units from our republic's capital.

The veterans organizations fully support the policy that is being pursued by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. They will do whatever they can to contribute to the efforts to extricate the republic from the complicated social, political, and economic situation. This is our sacred duty and obligation toward our brothers, our sisters, and the new generation.

Political & Social

Party Official Views Moldavia's Elections

90US0455A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 10 Jan 90 p 2

[Interview with N.F. Arnautu, head of the MCP Central Committee Department for Work With the Soviets and Public Organizations, by unidentified ATEM correspondent: "Candidate, Who Are You?"; place and date not given]

[Text] The election campaign in our republic is in full swing. Every day the Central Electoral Commission receives new information concerning the nomination of candidates for people's deputy of the MSSR [Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic]. The election struggle is unfolding on a new legal basis and represents an important stage of political reform and the transfer of the fullness of state power to the soviets.

An ATEM [MOLDAVIAN PRESS AGENCY] correspondent asked N.F. Arnautu, head of the Moldavian Communist Party [MCP] Central Committee Department for Work With the Soviets and Public Organizations, to answer a few questions concerning the particular features of the current election campaign.

[Correspondent] Nikolay Fedorovich, still fresh in the memory of the republic's electorate are the elections of USSR people's deputies, which taught us many useful lessons. To what extent have they been taken into consideration by the laws governing the elections of people's deputies of the MSSR and the local soviets?

[Arnautu] Indeed, the last election campaign showed that the way to the formation of a genuinely popular deputy corps is not at all easy. In their unusual nature and the unprecedented scale of the process of politicization of the masses these elections were fundamentally different from those which had been conducted with us for decades. Accumulated experience was taken into consideration in the election laws which were enacted in order that better use may be made of it in the organization of the current election campaign.

For example, okrug electoral meetings, which many voters opposed, will not be held. Nor do the new laws envisage elections of people's deputies from public organizations. There are many other fundamental innovations also. I believe that the electorate has drawn attention to changes, amplifications, and additions which have made the election laws more democratic, reflecting the will and interests of the voters.

[Correspondent] What stages of the election campaign, which is gaining momentum, are determining and are most important?

[Arnautu] There are simply no secondary stages. They are all important and crucial in their own way. The first stage—the formation of electoral okrugs and the creation of electoral commissions—is already over. It was conducted in quite an organized fashion.

The next stage is the nomination of candidates for people's deputy of the MSSR and the local soviets. It began on 27 December 1989 and will conclude on 26 January of this year. After this comes a chain of successive measures: registration of the candidates for deputy—canvassing—the elections, which, as you know, will be held on 25 February.

[Correspondent] How is the nomination of candidates for deputy going and what position is occupied here by the republic party organizations?

[Arnautu] According to figures of the Central Electoral Commission as of 8 January, the nominations had taken place in 252 of the 280 electoral okrugs. Some 490 candidates for people's deputy of the MSSR had been nominated, that is, an average of 1.5 candidates per electoral okrug. There were two or more nominations for 118 okrugs, one for 134.

Of the total number of candidates who have been nominated, 445 or 90.8 percent are members and candidates of the CPSU, 12 or 1.4 percent are workers, 91 or 18.6 percent are kolkhoz [collective farm] members, including 80 kolkhoz chairmen, 24 or 4.9 percent are women, and just one is a Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] member. Among the nominees, 76 or 15.5 percent are representatives of the intelligentsia, 140 or 28.5 percent are leaders of farms and enterprises, and 70 or 14.2 percent are city and rayon party committee secretaries and chairmen of city and rayon soviet executive committees.

A careful analysis of these data make it possible to draw some perfectly definite conclusions. Take, for example, the correlation among the candidates for deputy of members of the CPSU and nonparty persons. Despite the criticism heard against the CPSU recently, the course of the nomination of candidates shows convincingly that the communists are, as before, an active part of our society. Which of them is firmly adhering to CPSU positions and reflecting and defending in daily action the genuine interests of perestroyka and who are enthralled to dubious ideas and values is another matter.

Nonetheless, it can hardly be considered justified that very few nonparty comrades have been nominated as candidates for deputy. I believe that those who by their work and social activity prove devotion to the ideals of perestroyka merit greater support on the part of the industrial outfits and public organizations. Also troubling is the fact that there are among the candidates few workers, kolkhoz members, women, and young people and the fact that the trade union, Komsomol, and women's public organizations are making very inadequate use of the right accorded by the election law to nominate their candidates by territorial okrug. They have nominated only 12 candidates altogether.

[Correspondent] Does not the idea of particular proportions and regulation of the composition of the deputy corps not creep in in such reasoning? Is this not nostalgia for the schedule of allocations, when the percentage of deputies from each social group was known in advance?

[Arnautu] No. The times when these questions were decided thus have gone forever. The logic of political reform and the scale of the tasks facing society demand that effective leaders be found among the candidates. This same logic, however, suggests that we need to nominate people adhering to various views. But the main criterion should be their capacity for working in the renewed soviets competently, with full input and with regard for the requirements and interests of the electorate. We can hardly agree with the fact that under the conditions of the current social assertiveness of the masses such people are not to be found among the workers and kolkhoz members, women and young people. This is not the case. It is by no means a question of a "schedule of allocations" here. I believe that seats in the republic's parliament and the soviets of all levels going to citizens of all the main social and national groups would have no opponents. The soviets should in terms of their composition be a kind of cross-section of our society in the shape of its best representatives.

Further. In the course of the preparation and organization of the elections of USSR people's deputies many party committees made, in our view, two serious mistakes. The first was their primitive, distorted interpretation of the proposition concerning the place of the party as a political force in the election struggle and their fear of "imposing" their opinions on the electorate, seeing this as an impediment to their free expression. The political vacuum which was formed as the result of this was immediately filled by other forces. The second mistake was the rejection ab initio of candidacies put forward by other than party authorities, which sometimes led to open confrontation between the party and other authorities and organizations. Neither approach is acceptable today.

[Correspondent] How should the party organizations be operating in order not to be the subject of criticism from either left or right?

[Arnautu] Unswerving compliance with the provisions of the election laws by all public institutions, organizations and the electorate should be ensured first of all. But this by no means signifies that the party organizations should adopt a wait-and-see position and let everything take its own course. It is necessary to join in the election campaign actively and act decisively. After all, what is happening currently? There are open attacks on the party, but one has only to enter into a constructive argument for demagogic hysteria to start up at once and for voices concerning "party diktat" to be heard. Under these conditions some communists are displaying pusillanimity, while some simply lack the know-how and skills of political struggle and are passing even in instances where their opponents' arsenal contains nothing other than a well-endowed voice. For party members to remain aloof and not participate in the election fray in such a situation is not only unbecoming but also immoral.

On the other hand, we need to abandon the habit of approaching matters with the "one of ours—not one of ours" yardstick. What is important is not who is nominated a candidate but what he represents and what his creative and parliamentary potential, election program, and previous work and social activity are. The time has come to evaluate each of them on their capabilities and readiness to take on specific work, and not to judge them by loud-mouthed promises and demagogic statements. I believe that this is the main criterion by which everyone should be guided in the course of the election campaign. Our common duty is to conduct it such as to ensure that the election struggle be held within the framework of the election laws and socialist morals and on the principles of respect for the honor and dignity of each individual in order that soviets which justify the hopes placed in them be formed here.

Moldavian Workers Urge Party Perestroyka

90US0452A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 18 Jan 90 p 2

["Mezon" plant communists' letter: "Opinion of the Communists of 'Mezon'"]

[Text] Understanding the importance of the Moldavian Communist Party [MCP] Central Committee appeal to the communists and population of the republic for collective counsel concerning a way out of the current situation and the formulation of methods of party influence on a solution of the accumulated problems, the plant's communists consider it their duty to say the following.

The restructuring processes which have begun in Moldavia also have encountered the huge obstructions which have built up in all spheres of our life.

We, the working class and engineering-technical intelligentsia, firmly believe that eliminating the entire burden of these problems, consolidating society and continuing the movement along the path of perestroyka are impossible without the party, and we see no political force capable of extricating the country from the crisis other than the CPSU.

At the same time we believe that the restructuring processes in the party itself are lagging behind the rapidly developing events in the country and the republic and that restructuring in the party is not occurring quickly enough and does not correspond to the spirit of the times.

People are particularly disturbed today by the seriousness of the food and housing problems and the financial situation, national conflicts, the neediness of considerable strata of the population, the state of health care, the ecological situation, discipline, the fight against crime, and such.

A manifestation of this disquiet is the mass development of amateur public organizations, many of which are cleaving to positions of perestroyka and doing work that is useful to society.

At the same time certain organizations and action committees whose representatives are at times openly making use of anti-Soviet and antisocialist propaganda and agitation for the purpose of discrediting perestroyka have bestirred themselves on the wave of democratization and glasnost. Confirmation of what has been said were the events of 7 and 10 November in Kishinev. We are troubled in this connection by the fact that the republic government, the city authorities, and the party bodies were incapable of forestalling these events.

Nor can we fail to be disturbed by the fact that a manifest disparagement of the party and a policy of undermining its authority in the masses have been pursued by interested parties, and that a trend toward the disintegration of the foundations of the party—the primary party organizations—and the undermining of the authority of the communist as such has been adopted as of late. The indoctrination of public opinion in this direction is also being conducted via leaflets which have appeared and are being distributed in the city.

Voices are also being heard to the effect that the Communist Party has outlived its usefulness and virtually should quit the political arena. Attempts are being made to defame the party and cancel out the activity of communists of whole generations.

No one who links with the party his hopes for the future may remain aloof and adopt a neutral stance. We understand that in order to realize its functions more efficiently the party is obliged to more actively restructure intra-party life and perfect the style, forms, and methods of work.

However, the notion of personnel reshuffles at the upper level of the MCP as was on display at the last plenum does not contribute to the enhanced authority of the CPSU among the populace.

The plant's communists are dissatisfied with the procedure for the solution of the organizational question, the formula "in connection with his transfer to other work" sounded unconvincing and the connection of S.K. Grossu's hurried resignation with the tense social and political situation in the republic and, specifically, with the categorical demand of the "Resignation" Citizens' Committee was clearly evident.

"...If we are not afraid to speak even a bitter and difficult truth directly, we will learn, necessarily and unconditionally learn, to conquer each and every difficulty...." (V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 44, p 210).

The essence of the process of democratization, according to Lenin, is ensuring that the party conduct all business directly and via the representatives of all members of the party on an equal basis and without any exception.

The business of perestroyka now more than ever needs unity of action and high organization and discipline—party discipline particularly.

However, the party authorities are failing to make a due appraisal of communists, of amateur formations included, whose actions are contrary to the requirements of the CPSU Rules. At the same time it would be a political mistake to ignore the public movements, to fail to see the sober-minded people in them, and to fail to conduct a dialogue with them, but without flirting and with sound arguments and logic.

The people have given the party a credit of trust, but not in perpetuity. At each stage, the CPSU is obliged to win and enhance its authority by specific action. This action today is perestroyka. Only its success is really capable of enhancing the authority of the CPSU, which has now been put to a serious test.

We communists of the "Mezon" plant are aware also of our personal responsibility for the decline in the authority of the MCP and are ready by our work and public position to contribute to its enhancement. Authority, however, will grow only if the people really see that the communists are taking upon themselves the brunt of perestroyka, are setting an example in work and in social life and have just one privilege—that of being out in front. And it is time to convert this true slogan into actual deeds. Therefore we propose:

1. A start in the party organizations and the party press of the republic of the debate "Place and Role of the MCP

in Perestroyka," in the course of which formulation and submittal for discussion at a MCP Central Committee plenum of a republic party organization action program for an extension of the process of perestroyka in Moldavia and a broadening of the rights and responsibility of all components of the party organization and, in the immediate future, a broad republic party activists' meeting with the necessary invitation of primary party organization secretaries and discussion of the question of the situation which has taken shape in the republic party organization.

2. As priority measures aimed at an intensification of perestroyka in the Moldavian party organization we propose for implementation the following measures:

—The imparting of new impetus to the process of the cleansing of the republic party organization of persons who have compromised themselves, lost their connection with the party, and have discredited the calling of communist and who are acting counter to the CPSU Rules and Program;

—That the elections of party leaders of all components be held on a basis of choice. An opportunity be afforded the primary party organizations for realizing in practice the right to nominate candidates for executive positions. The elections of the top leaders of the party bureaus, party committees, raykoms [rayon party committees] and gorkoms [city party committees], and the Central Committee be conducted by direct secret ballot of all communists who are members of the organization;

—That officials of the party apparatus of all levels be registered in the party organizations of industrial enterprises. That they render account periodically. That the primary party organizations be accorded the right to recall communists whom they recommended for the party apparatus and who fail to cope with the tasks of perestroyka;

—The implementation of structural transformations of the party authorities, particularly here in the capital, in order to impart greater flexibility to party work, remove unnecessary components, parallelism, and duplication, and bring the primary party organizations closer to their republic executive body since the multilevel system fetters initiative and ultimately leads to a decline in the efficiency of the party leadership;

—We deem advisable the formation of primary party organization secretary councils since in our difficult times it is very important to decide questions and examine various, at times alternative, versions collegially;

—To use part of the budget of the republic party organization for the solution of urgent socioeconomic problems, for charitable purposes, and for a broadening of the possibilities of the primary party organizations. To publish annually the items of expenditure of the party budget;

—For the formulation of the correct political course of the activity of the republic party organization and for imparting to it a solid scientific base taking into account regional singularities to create on the material base of the Institute of Party History, the Political Education Center, and the University of Marxism-Leninism a republic social sciences institute of the MCP Central Committee, setting it the following tasks:

a) A scientific analysis of the processes of social development in the republic;

b) Formulation of a forecast of the development of events and practical recommendations for the party organizations;

c) Tuition of party activists;

—The attachment to industrial outfits as propagandists of officials of the party apparatus of all levels and their conversion from the category of inspectors to the category of persons working directly with people.

It is important in the restructuring of party work to break the habit of an armchair style and to approach people and mobilize them for the accomplishment of urgent tasks. Meeting people is a great consolidating force uniting the masses around the party.

We believe that the further strengthening precisely of the leading role of the CPSU and its authority is essential.

The communists of the "Mezon" plant declare that they will continue to display firmness in the struggle against all encroachments on our state and social system and will firmly uphold the democratic path of the renewal of socialism and contribute in every possible way to the party's policy of perestroyka and a strengthening of the positions and authority of the republic party organization.

The letter was discussed and adopted at an all-plant party meeting.

Moldavian Party Fields Yedinstvo Questions

90US0452A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 16 Jan 90 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Listening To and Understanding One Another"]

[Text] An approved mass meeting of the "Unitatya-Yedinstvo" Intermovement was held recently at the athletic track. It was addressed by Ye.V. Sobor, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party [MCP] Central Committee, and V.S. Pushkash, deputy chairman of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [MSSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium. The majority of questions they answered directly at the meeting. It should be noted that only some of them were of a constructive nature and that a considerable number of them arose, to all appearances, from an ignorance of the subject of the discussion. There were also those which were put for the purpose of inflaming the already tense situation at the meeting, and some could be termed nothing other than provocative. Instead of a discussion of the stated agenda on the course of the election campaign, the meeting's participants were interested mainly in problems which had arisen recently in the field of interethnic relations.

The questions of particular public interest to which answers were not given on account of the lack of time were studied thoroughly by the MCP Central Committee and the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium. They are answered in this publication.

A group of questions concerned the following: Why is the MCP Central Committee and the republic government not instituting proceedings against the participants in the events of 10 November and specific officials, why has this editor or the other not been punished, and why have criminal charges not been brought against a number of people (they were named).

Answer: The very formulation of the question is inappropriate. The Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers are not, after all, the apparatus of sorry remembrance of the times of stagnation in accordance with whose wishes some people could be pardoned, and others, punished. The times of "telephone legislation" are passed, and a state based on the rule of law is being built in the country.

As far as the events of 10 November are concerned, the press has reported repeatedly that a MSSR Supreme Soviet commission is studying all the circumstances connected with them and will at the next session report the results of the investigation.

The second group of questions concerns the demands for a revision of certain sections of the laws on language and on referenda.

Answer: Laws are enacted by the MSSR Supreme Soviet fully in accordance with its Constitution. Laws are enacted, as is known, for them to be fulfilled.

We cannot agree with those who, as before, regard language laws as being essentially discriminatory in respect of the non-Moldavian-speaking population of the republic. Such statements were heard in speeches at the meeting repeatedly, but nothing specific was said in confirmation of this proposition. It was said that the law on the status of the MSSR official language was contrary to the USSR Constitution and should therefore be appreciably amended, if not revoked altogether. Yet it is well known that all legislative instruments of the union republics conflicting to this extent or the other with the country's basic law were examined at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which was reported on 14 November of last year in IZVESTIYA. The newspaper mentioned a number of union republics, not a word, however, was said about Moldavia. Consequently, it is recognized at the union level that our republic's laws are not contrary to the USSR Constitution, are democratic and reflect the linguistic interests not only of the Moldavian but of all the other peoples whose representatives inhabit the MSSR.

It is gratifying, incidentally, that the number of persons wishing to study Moldavian is growing in Kishinev and in other cities of the republic. As a whole, however, it should be said that the implementation of certain provisions of the laws is proceeding not without difficulty.

What is the MCP's attitude toward the viewpoint of the author of the publication in the weekly FEKLIYA (The Torch) concerning the concept of a Baltic national school, which calls Russian a foreign language?

Answer: First, the Central Committee is of the opinion that under the conditions of pluralism a tolerant attitude should be adopted toward the viewpoint of this author or the other which he expresses in the press. Then, someone's views do not have to be considered the truth in the last instance. As can be seen, the author of the essay has a particular opinion on the given issue. Why should he not expound it in some publication?

From where does the republic leadership's fear of referenda come?

Answer: There is no fear. The republic's parliament will determine its attitude toward this question. But the fact that there are many subjective opinions and false interpretations in connection therewith is understandable. After all, people have not had the time as yet to accumulate democratic experience in this matter.

Specific questions were put in connection with the elaboration of the draft citizenship law. Here is a written note: "What is the point of me having MSSR citizenship when I am a citizen of the USSR?"

Answer: Our republic is a sovereign state. This is reflected in Article 68 of its Constitution. But what kind of a state is it without citizenship. All people who reside on Moldavian soil and are making their utmost contribution to its socioeconomic development, regardless of national affiliation, should be deemed to be citizens of the republic. No one will be deprived of union citizenship here.

The republic has currently been engulfed by a wave of migration. The enactment of a citizenship law would help regulate this process, which is having a negative affect on all citizens, once again regardless of their national affiliation, and would not entail an infringement of anyone's rights. The draft law contemplates the enshrinement of the precise conditions of both the granting of citizenship and loss thereof, given obligatory and full observance of the Constitution, what is more.

Why are the results of the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet commission which was in the republic last September being kept secret?

Answer: No one has made or is making a secret of the findings of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Nationality Policy and Interethnic Relations Commission. Information thereon was published back in October in all the republic newspapers. To see this for oneself it is sufficient to take a look at the newspapers MOLODOVA SOCHIALISTE or SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA for 25 October and familiarize oneself with the MSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on the commission's decision. It says, inter alia, that it sees no grounds for revoking the law on the functioning of languages on the territory of the MSSR. At the same time it emphasizes the need for the continuation of work on its further improvement and increased supervision of its competent and timely application, with prevention here of the infringement of the rights and interests of the citizens of various nationalities and ethnic groups resident in the republic.

The concern of representatives of different nationalities resident in the republic for their future could be sensed in many of the written notes. Proposals were expressed in this connection concerning the creation of a bicameral MSSR Supreme Soviet, the autonomy of the left-bank area of Moldavia and so forth.

Answer: The aspiration to the assured equality of all citizens of the republic before the law, equal protection of rights and legitimate interests and the possibility of equal enjoyment of all benefits is understandable. Much is being done for this. Everyone knows about the series of laws regulating citizens' political rights which were enacted recently. A whole package of bills, which will also contribute to the consolidation of the rights and observance of the legitimate interests of the citizens, is on its way. Mention should be made among these primarily of the draft law "Guarantees of the the Rights of National Groups Resident in the MSSR".

As far as the demands for a bicameral structure of the MSSR Supreme Soviet are concerned, explanations were provided on this matter earlier. They amount to the fact that our republic is a unitary state and has no national-territorial formations. In this connection the demands for the formation of two chambers are without foundation. To go by the geographical principle of the creation of autonomous formations, which is what essentially is being proposed by the supporters of the Intermovement in Rybnitsa, Tiraspol, and a number of other cities, the question of the formation of dozens of such "republics" could be posed in the same way. Whom would this benefit? What lies behind such proposals—nostalgia for the administrative-managerial apparatus or is this a way of permanently maintaining tension? Neither are the way to actual consolidation. Such an approach to questions of autonomy, incidentally, is contrary to the CPSU platform on the party's nationality policy under current conditions.

Moldavian Peasants' Union Constituted 20 Jan

LD0402192190 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 23 Jan 90 p 3

[Summary] The Constituent Congress of the Moldavian Peasants' Union was held in the Oktombriye Palace in Kishinev on 20 January. Kh. G. Andreyev was elected chairman.

'Chernobyl Children' To Be Sent to Israel

90UN0736A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 27 Dec 89 p 3

[Ukrainian News Agency dispatch: "Act of Humaneness"]

[Text] In January of next year, 50 childen from the regions adjacent to the zone of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station, will be sent for treatment to Israel. That action is the result of a joint agreement of the Ukrainian Trade Union Council and the General Labor Federation of Israel (Gistadrut). In the solution of this question, a number of informal organizations and associations took part, in particular representatives of "Zeleniy svit," the National Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring, "Children of Chernobyl," and others. An Israeli citizen, the poet Moisey Fischbein, became the mediator here. Recently, M. Fischbein arrived in Kiev. Simultaneously a large batch of disposable syringes, obtained by M. Fischbein at his own expense, were received, which were transmitted by representatives of the public of the Land of Bavaria (FRG).

At present, the Ukrainian Trade Union Council has made contact with the trade union centers of several other countries to carry out analogous actions of mercy.

Military Procurator on Troops' Hazards at Chernobyl

LD0202134190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] A session of the Chief Military Procuracy has taken place in Moscow. Anatoliy Fedorov, our correspondent, talks to Aleksandr Filippovich Katusev, chief military procurator, deputy USSR procurator general, and state counsellor of justice first class.

[Fedorov] The Army has always come to the people's aid. That is understandable, for it is the people's, to the core: Today's events in the Transcaucasus, the recent earthquake in Armenia, Chernobyl, our pain and, alas, our reality of today, too. As you know, both the Armed forces of the country's Ministry of Defense and men called up from the reserve are participating in the elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl tragedy. This specific subject was the focus of attention at the session of the chief Military Procuracy. Honestly, Aleksandr Filippovich, I, as a person, was shaken to the depths of my soul by what I heard and saw on film clips here of the conditions in which soldiers and servicemen find themselves, the unsanitary circumstances in which they work and, most frighteningly, their defenselessness against that dreadful danger for any person, radiation. In essence, they are not protected against it. I am not even talking about the possession by each of them of an individual dosimetric device. It is terrible. I and probably many journalists here—I exchanged impressions with them in the interval of the collegium—Have formed the impression that the Army is being used as cheap labor, and without protection or rights, what is more

[Katusev] Our soldiers and servicemen called up from the reserve for compulsory service are doing a great deal and laboring selflessly, one could even say heroically. However, injustice is being committed against them—I would not say everywhere, but, in any event, there is bad food, bad accomodation, radiation infection, and so on. After all, people called up for refresher courses are the same civilians, just dressed in green tunics.

[Fedorov] And torn away from their families.

[Katusev] And torn away from their families. But there is some kind of unjust and unequal treatment of servicemen and those liable to call-up, compared to civilian specialists and workers.

[Fedorov] Above all, by the USSR Ministry of Atomic Power?

[Katusev] Undoubtedly. It is a customer, first and foremost, and it ought to give identical treatment, but our Ministry of Defense ought also to take care of its own people. How can this be? The radiation dose for civilians is 2 rems....

[Fedorov] The maximum dose.

[Katusev] Yes, the maximum. But for servicemen, who only yesterday were civilians and put on green tunics, it is 5 rems.

[Fedorov] And their salary and conditions are always....

[Katusev, interrupting] I think that the collegium was beneficial. You saw that we invited representatives of various interested ministries and departments here, and there was a frank conversation on the fact it is time to put an end to this outrage. I promise you that the chief Military Procuracy and the prosecutors subordinate to it—and we also have a Prosecutor's Office in Chernobyl itself—that we shall take measures to strengthen the prosecutor's supervisory powers and see through to the end everything which we have planned at today's collegium.

[Fedorov] Aleksandr Filippovich, we all know the terms forgotten village and forgotten settlement, but here is a nonsense—a forgotten garrison: The 17th Regiment of internal troops of the USSR Interior Ministry, which is located within the 20-kilometer [figure as heard] zone and participates in guarding the Chernobyl nuclear power station. Living conditions there, to judge by those clips, are also on the verge of a foul, if I may use sporting language. What can one think of such treatment of over 2,000 people?

[Katusev] A regiment of internal troops of the Interior Ministry has been deployed since 1987 in the 30-kilometer zone around the nuclear power station, from which the residents have been moved. The period of service for servicemen in that category is 2 years. The forgotten garrison definitely sounds dreadful. We immediately conducted a prosecutor's check with the forces of the district Prosecutor's Office and made relevant proposals, but the garrison remained forgotten, as it had been.

[Fedorov] Let me interrupt you here, with just some figures I heard at the collegium. If I understood it correctly, over 2,000 people suffered from various blood disorders in 1987 and over 1,000 in 1988; three people have died of leukemia; and moreover, 50 percent have suffered various stomach disorders—and all that in the zone of increased danger from radiation.

[Katusev] That is why we heightened attention at the collegium and I was obliged to issue an instruction to Comrade Shatalin, who commands the internal troops of the USSR Interior Ministry, on the immediate withdrawal of that regiment from the 30-kilometer zone around the nuclear power station. We shall watch to see that this instruction is fulfilled. Above all, there must be healthy people.

Kiev Meeting Discusses Ukraine 'National Army'

LD0502142390 Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2200 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Report from Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth meeting on 4 February, by radio editor Dmytro Palamarchuk—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Palamarchuk] Activists of the union announced that the meeting would be held outside the building of the Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet as a protest against young Ukrainians doing their military service outside the Ukraine borders and also for creating a professional national army in Ukraine.

Because the union failed to obtain permission for holding such a meeting, the militia units succeeded in halting the main body of participants in the meeting before they reached the building. The activists then directed them to the central square in Kiev. In all, several thousand people gathered there. The crowd was addressed by activists of the union from Kiev, Lvov, and Lutsk and also by representatives of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Ukrainian National Democratic League, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, and several other public associations. The speakers also included parents of servicemen doing their national service, servicemen, and guest from Azerbaijan. They expressed contradictory views on the ways to solve the problems. Here are some fragments from their speeches. The microphone was given to Ihor Tkachuk, an activist of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

[Tkachuk] Today at this meeting we are discussing the creation of the national [Ukrainian] armed forces. I am a navy veteran; I devoted my youth to the navy, and I can endorse the words of Palmiro Togliatti, general secretary of the Communist Party of Italy, that call-up service means isolation with the aim of the social reeducation of young persons. And another thing: A democratic peace-loving country does not need a mass army. All it needs is a small professional army which, in an extreme situation, can become the pivot of a mass army.

[Palamarchuk] Next to speak was Natalya (Tsikh), member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union from Lvov and candidate for deputy to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

[Natalya] We may talk and talk at meetings, but what is needed are concrete deeds. The young men of Ukraine should do their military service on the territory of Ukraine. And this is a paramount matter today. Our main weapons are legislative acts. Meetings are useful, but all this must be confirmed by legislation. Therefore, from this rostrum I am appealing to the newly elected deputies to our parliament to adopt a new Ukrainian constitution in accordance with international legal acts.

[Palamarchuk] The crowd was then addressed by Colonel Albert Okhlanyan.

[Okhlanyan, in Russian with superimposed Ukrainian translation] The theme of this meeting concerns me in every way. I have been teaching in a higher military establishment for 24 years. [passage omitted] Therefore, what is going to happen to the army means a great deal to me. I have lived in the Ukraine since 1952. The destiny of this republic is not a matter of indifference to me. My nationality is Armenian. I consider that a professional army is not only possible but is badly needed at this time; however, the switch to professionalism should proceed gradually. In the beginning we can have a semi-professional army. These questions must be solved no matter what.

Ukraine Committees Recommend Plenum Subjects

LD0402213890 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] A sitting of the commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine has been held in Kiev to generalize the draft amendments to the regulations of the Soviet Communist Party and discuss the program of action in connection with preparations for the 28th party congress, scheduled to be held this year.

The city commitee [as heard] of the Communist Party of the Ukraine has held its plenary meeting in the republic's capital. It discussed proposals of the Kiev city committee for the plenary meeting of the Central Commitee of the Soviet Communist Party, to be held next week in Moscow. It was pointed out that there were several hundred proposals, critical remarks, and sometimes, contradicting opinions put forward by the communists. The main of these are: to convene the 28th congress of the Soviet Communist Party in May-June this year, instead of October, as had been scheduled previously. The communists also insist that the Central Committee of the party should come up with an initiative to abolish Article Six of the USSR Constitution, which stipulates the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party in society and within its political system.

Kiev Communists Discuss Restructuring

LD0402231690 Kiev in English to North America 1900 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] [Unidentified presenter] The situation which emerged within the Soviet Communist Party and ways for its restructuring and renewal were discussed yesterday by the Communists of Kiev at the conference of the secretaries of the party organizations and representatives of the party clubs in the Ukraine's capital. In this connection here is the following report:

The data has been revealed before the conference participants, representatives of almost 300 party organizations and party clubs of Kiev: A sociological poll conducted at Kiev University showed in particular that 49.1 percent of those polled negatively estimate the activities of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine.

While analyzing this data, the conference participant (Svetlana Synyakova) pointed out the following: This is a result of the fact that the Communist Party of the Ukraine has no clear-cut program of its own as far as its domestic policies are concerned, says (Svetlana Synyakova). It does not work out any program which would take into account national peculiarities of the republic. This is why several Communists, members of the People's Movement for Perestroyka, also known as the Rukh, decided to work for setting up a radical democratic faction within the Communist Party of the Ukraine. One of their main objectives is to work out the program of action for the party organizations of the Ukraine and implement it, said (Svetlana Synyakova).

More than 20 Communists spoke out at the conference, and all speakers showed concern and anxiety over the future of the Soviet Communist Party in its present [word indistinct]. The opinions were ranging from absolutely calm to most categorical, from proposals to carry out a radical reform to changing the name of the party. Speaking at the conference was Andrey Kulikov: I reject the proposal concerning the change of the name of the party, said Andrey Kulikov. This is just a political maneuver aimed at avoiding political responsibility to everything which had been done throughout our history. Now the question is whether or not we are able to acknowledge our guilt for everything which had once been done in the country. Our task is to prove that the Communists worked for the interests of the entire nation and not their own ideology, said Andrey Kulikov.

Upon hearing all the proposals concerning the democratization of the party life, forwarded by the speakers, representative of the city party committee (Leonid Novokhadko) informed all the conference participants about the decisions of the latest plenum of the city party committee, and he said the following: Those who are present here were not well informed about the decisions of yesterday's plenary meeting of the Central Committee, says (Leonid Novokhadko). The reason is that many proposals now under discussion here had already been supported by the plenum and sent over to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, says (Leonid Novokhadko).

The conference participants formulated their proposals in a message to the plenum of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party scheduled for the 5th of February. The conference participants voiced their support of the General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in this complicated moment and spoke out for more resolute actions aimed at restructuring the party and upgrading its prestige.

The Communists of Kiev demand that the plenum analyze the reasons of nonfulfilment of the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference on questions of restructuring within the party and development of glasnost and give corresponding assessments.

With this, the conference of the secretaries of the party organizations and representatives of the party clubs of Kiev completed its work.

Ukrainian Workers Protest Fuel Price Hike

LD0502184290 Kiev in Ukrainian to North American 2200 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] A conflict situation has emerged at the Petrovskiy metal plant in Dnepropetrovsk due to the government's decision to increase the prices of fuel and electricity. Our correspondent Serhiy Hubin was able to contact Anatoliy Sokostyuk, trade union leader at the enterprise:

[Begin recording] [Sokostyuk] Our enterprise will be pushed into a difficult economic situation. The point is this: We are to lose R8 million of profits and, consequently, we will not be able to develop the social base of our enterprise. There you have it! With one hand they sign the law on broadening the rights of labor collectives, and with the other hand they sign documents which put the same collectives into conditions of slavery.

[Hubin] It is obvious that the conflict has ripened. What will be the next step?

[Sokostyuk] You mean, are we going to elect a strike committee or not? We organized a poll, and in favor of such a committee were 1,310 workers, 904 against, and 3,075 abstained. At present our comrades are holding talks with the government in Moscow. [end recording]

Ukrainian Trade Union Condemns Price Hikes

LD0202175690 Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2200 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Excerpts] The Ukrainian Trade Union Council this morning gave a briefing for journalists in connection with its demand to the central government to annul the price increases for energy, fuel, and transportation.

Having opened the briefing, Yuriy Kulyk, head of the Council's press center, said:

[Begin Kulyk recording] Why have we convened this briefing? Because the Ukraine is an important economic and power-consuming region and we cannot ignore this. This is exactly what we lacked in the past, for which we were criticized by working people who used to say that the republic's trade unions do not have a clear-cut position of their own. We were accused of bowing to the government's wishes, of assisting in all its actions. Today the position has changed. [end recording]

The journalists were then addressed by specialists representing the government and trade unions of the republic. Anatoliy Rybak, a trade union official, stated:

[Begin Rybak recording] The decision of the national government to raise prices for diesel fuel, freight transportation, and electricity from 1 January this year has worsened considerably the financial-economic situation of labor collectives and has lowered the working people's living standard. Thus, the wages of metal workers will fall by 10-20 percent or more. It is obvious that the trade unions cannot come to terms with this and resolutely protest the move.

We are extremely concerned about the lack of consistency in the national government's actions. On the one hand, it proclaims a course for social reorganization of the economy; on the other, it adopts decisions which greatly limit the possibilities of labor collectives in implementing these or other social programs. Naturally, the trade unions of the Ukraine will demand the curtailment of the government's unfair decisions. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Yuriy Kulyk once again:

[Begin Kulyk recording] If this question is not solved in the very near future it will be submitted for discussion at the USSR Supreme Soviet via the USSR people's deputies from the trade unions. Should it not be solved in this way, then trade unions and labor collectives will reserve the right to resort to all legal means for solving labor conflicts.

Lukyanov, Church Leaders Discuss 'Problems'

PM0502162990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Meeting With Church Hierarchs"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, had a meeting on 1 February with hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church—permanent members of the Holy Synod headed by Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and Galich and patriarchal exarch of the Ukraine.

In the course of the meeting, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was given documents from the archbishops' synod held in Moscow 30-31 January, including the synod's address to all believers calling for conciliation and an end to interethnic conflicts.

During the conversation a broad range of questions linked with the position of the church in various regions of the country, including western oblasts of the Ukraine, was discussed. Confidence was expressed that current problems there should be resolved in accordance with existing legislation with consideration for the interests of the sides concerned, on the basis of respect for the accords elaborated as a result of talks between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Roman Catholic Church. The inadmissibility of a forcible, strong-arm solution of any contentious issues was underlined here.

During the conversation attention was drawn to the advisability of the most speedy adoption of a law on freedom of conscience and religious organization along with other legal enactments regulating church activity in the conditions of a rule-of-law state.

Uniate Militants Demand Restitution of Cathedral

AU0602093090 Paris AFP in English 2207 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, Feb 5 (AFP)—Militants of the Uniate church, representing the Roman Catholic church in the Ukraine, seized several town officials to press demands for the restitution of an orthodox cathedral, press reports said here Monday.

The Radio Moscow news sheet INTERFAX said the militants first formed a human chain around the town council building in Sambor, west of Lvov, then stormed offices and held officials hostage for several hours.

The exact number of people detained and the date of the incident were not disclosed.

In 1946 some 3.5 million Uniates were compelled to withdraw their allegiance to Rome and came under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Patriarchate in Moscow.

Today the denomination counts some five million believers.

During the past few months, Uniate militants in the western Ukraine have appropriated several churches including the cathedral of Lvov by force.

Ukraine Issues Rules on Use of Official Cars

LD0502225690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1355 GMT 5 Feb 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev, 5 Feb (TASS)—The government of the Ukraine has established a new procedure for the use of cars for official purposes and their future reduction. Measures are also envisaged for introducing in Kiev and oblast centers a rotational system of motor transport services for institutions without having cars permanently attached to them.

It is reported that questions on the use of official transport were discussed at the second USSR Congress of People's Deputies. In particular, the report of the commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet for examining the privileges enjoyed by particular categories of citizens spoke of the need to regulate the use of official cars.

As much as two years ago, the number of cars used for official purposes in the Ukraine was reduced by 20-40 percent, Ivan Zabrodin, the republic's minister of finance, announced. The stock of these cars was reduced then by 3,000 units. From the sale of these alone, 6.2 million rubles were remitted to the republic's budget, the minister said. But after a careful analysis, the government of the republic came to the conclusion that the measures that had been taken were insufficient, and it decided to look toward reducing the limits of maintenance on official cars. According to Ivan Zabrodin, this year will see the completion of the transition to serving ministries, departments, and other institutions by contract with the motor transport enterprises.

The minister announced that a new procedure has also been established for the upper echelons of administration. Thus, deputy chairmen of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, ministers, chairmen of state committees, and people of equal rank will be granted Volga cars for official purposes for up to 12 hours per day. As for deputy ministers, they are not granted the privilege of car transport except by application on the basis of a rotational system within the confines of the established time limits. The cars affected by the reduction will be transferred to taxi parks or trade organizations for sale to the population.

New Weekly Newspaper in Ukrainian Published

LD0302180990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] A new weekly newspaper in the Ukrainian language, DIALOG, appeared today at Soyuzpechat kiosks in the town of Rovno. In the first edition, the place and role of the party under contemporary conditions is discussed, complex social problems are analyzed, and material from the representatives of various social and political movements is published.

Greater Powers for Gorbachev Debated

PM0502141590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Roundtable": "Does the Power Have Enough Power?"]

[Text]

Executive Organs Are Weak

V.N. Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences: The country is now experiencing serious difficulties and social tension which is reaching the point of open lawbreaking and leading to bloody conflicts. In this situation many people are speaking of the weakness of power. Well, let us investigate whether this is so. There are two aspects to the problem.

First, many people regard as a weakness of power precisely the normal human, social relations which are becoming the rule: The desire to resolve even the most complex questions without violence, without conflicts, by means of concord. Demanding something different would essentially mean campaigning for a return to the past, for a "firm, strong hand."

Second, there is also just criticism, because both local power and central power very frequently function clumsily and fail to adopt in time the decisions that are necessary. Worse than that, neither adopted decisions nor laws are realized at the level of executive power, and things are not seen through to the end.

For many people the following question is simply new and, therefore, unclear: How is it possible to act firmly but under conditions of democracy? As a jurist, I will say—it is necessary to observe the norms of the rule-of-law state, the rule-of-law society. The necessary legislation is now at least being created. But it is also necessary to fulfill it: To have the necessary mechanisms for this. But these have not yet, in my view, been thought out on various levels, nor is there a mechanism of persons' responsibility for their actions or for a lack of such actions.

Another point. Over the past 2-3 years we have been present at and even been participating in the process of separating powers. This is a good process. Legislative power has been seriously strengthened thanks to the activity precisely of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It is a bad thing that at the same time executive power has been weakened or, at any rate, is yielding in comparison with legislative power. I am certainly not campaigning for executive organs to order about both judicial and legislative organs, as under the former system: Each of the powers must occupy its own place. But executive power is clearly weak now and not very active.

A President With Full Rights Is Needed

Dr. of Juridical Sciences A.A. Mishin, professor at Moscow State University: I would like to object with regard to the common idea that under Stalin executive power crushed everything in our country beneath itself—both judicial and legislative power. There was not such a period—there was absolute rule by the leader and his apparatus.

Further. I am sure that passions are being fueled to excess in our country. Everyone everywhere is saying: Crisis, crisis, and a civil war will begin in the very near future—and God knows what else. But I think that all that is happening now is natural. In political science this is called a transitional period. Yes, we are breaking down the old and building the new—but not always skillfully, and much does not succeed. This is unpleasant and painful, but, alas, inevitable. The period itself is natural. Of course, greater or lesser acuteness may attend such a process.

What is the role of power here? Our people, who grew up under conditions of totalitarianism or absolutism, have grown accustomed to thinking of strong power as one which lashes, beats, and jails. But this is a very weak power. Just as in a family: If a father beats a child, he is a bad father, a weak father. In a good family the father controls the child by words and authority.

The Supreme Soviet is not in fact a parliament but, rather, a grand committee of the congress. It lacks two organic qualities of a parliament. First, it does not possess sovereign legislative power, for all its decisions can be rescinded by the congress. Second, it is not directly elected by the people.

We have made the congress a permanently functioning organ—and this, it seems to me, is an absurdity. We call delegates deputies. We have borrowed the U.S. experience here, but what have we taken from it? The system of renewal, rotation? But they replace the Senate alone, and then only by one-third every two years. But we have decided to organize an annual rotation. This, too, is incorrect, and no one else in the world does this. Any parliament must have a corps to carry on continuity and parliamentary traditions. For it is simply impossible to become a real politician in just 1 year.

In not one country does a chairman of parliament have such functions. In the U.S. Congress there is the speaker—the chairman of the House of Representatives—while the Senate is chaired either by the vice president or by a temporary chairman.

In our country the chairman of the Supreme Soviet sits for weeks between Ye. Primakov and R. Nishanov. Why? Let us state bluntly: The country needs a president with full rights.

Why Crises Are Exacerbated

B.N. Toporin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law: Power is "skidding" and faltering, is frequently sluggish and inconsistent, and is losing the threads of management in a number of regions. This is having a serious effect on the course of perestroyka and leading to the exacerbation of crisis phenena in society.

Democracy is not only power in the name of the people and for the people but the power of the people themselves, expressing and defending their interests. But this is not absence of power, chaos, and anarchy but effective power that is capable of compelling obedience to its decisions. It is incorrect to contrast democracy with the tasks of strengthening power and enhancing the efficiency of its mechanism. We need to surmount the negative attitude toward power stemming from the crimes of Stalinism and from the legacy of the administrative-edict system.

See who is trying to play on this: Forces that cling stubbornly to the old way, the shadow economy, the trade mafia, organized crime, extremists, and nationalists.

The process of separating the functions of the party and the state is not proceeding easily or identically. The party no longer acts (and in many cases simply cannot act) in the old way, while the state—and the soviets above all—has not yet taken over many functions of the power which the party "assumed to excess" in the past. Thus a power vacuum has been formed in a number of places. But practice confirms: When one arises, other forces seek to fill it, including antidemocratic groupings, organizations, and movements which are straining for power on all levels—regional and central.

Democratic power must not yield its positions. But what is power in our state? What is its mechanism? We naturally demand the sovereignty of the soviets, but we frequently confine ourselves to general slogans. I believe that the sovereignty of the soviets—at the level of the USSR and the republics (both union and autonomous republics)—means the fullness of their **legislative** power or of the resolution of questions of local significance in soviets of other levels. Control over the work of the executive apparatus must also be concentrated in the soviets.

The rationalization of the mechanism of power must take account both of our Soviet experience and of all world experience. It is, in fact, a question of developing and introducing the latest management technology providing for the clear-cut distribution of functions, internal coordination, and a system of control in the actions of various structures: Legislative, executive, judicial. Particularly serious thought should be given to the choice of the model of executive power.

Dr. of Juridical Sciences K.F. Sheremet, chief editor of the journal SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO: I absolutely agree with Avgust Alekseyevich Mishin—we underestimate the transitional nature of the moment. But it has made classical demands on the existing political structures. It has thereby removed from them the right to be transitional and to long remain the result of a certain political compromise that was reached before the adoption of the new constitution.

The old is being broken down, and its is with particular difficulty that the models of political leadership are being broken down. In the mass consciousness educated in the spirit of the personality cult it is customary to see a definite political leader as the master of all things. The process of freeing the consciousness from these notions is an agonizing one.

One of the vivid manifestations of the crisis of power is the underestimation of judicial power. The situation is perfectly paradoxical: We have adopted laws on the judicial system and on the status of judges and... clean forgotten about really strengthening judicial power. The mass media do not say a word about judicial power. As though it does not exist at all.

We seem to have underestimated the fact that in our society, given the lack of political culture, some new forces have matured—I would say antipower complexes which are capable of pushing the crowd toward murder and more terrible acts of vandalism. Such forces exist and must be seen.

B.N. Toporin: Still I would like to remark that a very great deal is being written off to the transitional period. Since the former structures are being broken, people say, all violations of laws and of public morality would appear natural and permissible....

The Main Thing Is To Ensure Implementation of Laws

Dr. of Historical Sciences A.A. Galkin, prorector of the Institute of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee: But we must honestly say whether we have a crisis of power or not. My answer to this question would be yes, we do. Moreover, there is a political crisis, which is clearly indicated by the crisis of political confidence. How does it manifest itself? People are unhappy. Unhappy that things have not gotten better in the last five years. I do not mean the democratic transformations, glasnost. This is a well-known achievement of our society.

The people want appreciable material changes, determining the conditions of their existence. The problem of safety has become acute. The authorities are not fulfilling their functions if they fail to ensure safety. Personal safety (people want to be confident that they will not be killed on the street, their children will not be maimed, their homes will not be broken into), national, and social. I am not just talking about the Transcaucasus—there is profound anxiety in many regions, including Moscow, Leningrad, Odessa, and so on. The crisis of political power can only be overcome if this natural desire is satisfied. So people will sometimes hanker after "strong power."

I am against "strong power"; it turns into lawlessness in the end. But I can appreciate people's feelings and why they hanker after it. The only counter to it is effective democratic organs of power. It is not a matter of how many good laws we have, whether we have enough. The main thing is to ensure implementation of the laws. If the authorities do not ensure this, their existence will be undermined.

Devising a Mechanism of Interaction

Dr. of Juridical Sciences V.A. Tumanov, sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law: Let us get back to central power. Whatever the situation, it plays the paramount role, in my view. We say that perestroyka is a revolution that started "at the top." So all the remaining "floors" operate in the same way as the "top."

From time immemorial everything has been decided by party organs. The Constitution has never bothered to devise anything like an efficient mechanism of interaction among central organs of power. But this is a major task of the Constitution, as well as the "citizen-state" relationship. In this connection, special significance attaches to the principle of division of powers, which allocates a substantial role to the head of state—the president.

I do not like the term "presidential government." It could be interpreted as a kind of one-man command. But in the context of division of powers a strong president is essential. The strange institution called the "collective head of state," as the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium used to be called, is outdated.

What is Gorbachev's role today, as USSR Supreme Soviet chairman? Half president, half speaker—no other way to describe it. The Supreme Soviet chairman has neither independent rights in respect of the Soviet itself, not the right to monitor government actions.

The Supreme Soviet chairman cannot formally take an elementary decision on imposing a state of emergency, something that the French or U.S. presidents are authorized to do.

K.F. Sheremet: Throughout history people have asked and they will carry on asking the question—why was something not done? There will always be groups and individuals who will not accept perestroyka even. The problem of present-day politics is to find a consensus that will satisfy the majority at least. With some agreement, of course, from the minority, which will be in opposition.

Has The Congress Exhausted Its Potential?

I.P. Ilinskiy, doctor of legal sciences and department chief at the USSR Foriegn Ministry Institute of International Relations: After the 19th party conference we came to the conclusion that it was time to abandon the ultrastrong state model, stimulate the processes of self-regulation in society, develop self-management, and so forth. But we forgot the changes that had taken place in real life. Being frightened of a state that was repressing society, we also began to underestimate the significance of its functions concerning the protection of public order and citizens' safety and rights.

First, one has to correctly define the tasks of power in present-day conditions and one must very clearly indicate the place and role of the state and its apparatus.

Second, central power proper. At the moment there is no clear division of authority between the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet, between the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium and the Council of Ministers. Or, indeed, between the Supreme Soviet chambers, either.

So a situation arises where even the Supreme Soviet chairman does not possess sufficient powers to be able to adopt urgent measures in a crisis situation. This is graphic evidence that the organs of power that exist at the moment are not operating in the way that is required in present-day conditions.

We have talked here about presidential power. I personally am in favor of it. I believe we must get rid of the old stereotypes, of the idea that the post of president is incompatible with the Soviet form of government.

Another question: To whom are the Defense and Foreign Minsitries and KGB answerable? The heads of these department are not even in the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium. In a rule-of-law state, I believe this question should be clearly resolved—either to the government or to the system of presidential government.

The Congress of People's Deputies can make general decisions and adopt general programs in the sphere of economic and social development and so forth. But it is totally ill-suited to legislative functions. Clearly, there is already a need to clearly separate the powers of the Congress of People's Deputies from those of the Supreme Soviet. But a normally operating parliament should be set up in the future.

K.F. Sheremet: When we compare such institutions as the parliament in various Western countries—Britain, France, the FRG, and so on—with the activity of our Supreme Soviet, we always forget the specific conditions of our own country, for some reason. But let us remember that, for example, the territory of Krasnoyarsk Kray alone would accommodate several European states....

B.N. Topornin: It must not be forgotten that the current state structures emerged in the very complex conditions of coordinating different interests. Remember how the Congress of USSR People's Deputies was formed: One-third territorial okrugs, one-third national-territorial okrugs, and one-third public organizations. This principle required a big structure like the congress. The congress, particularly the first, has to a considerable extent performed the role of a political forum.

With constitutional reform in mind, one must go back and analyze the effectiveness of the "two-hump" system of legislative organs. The congress itself gave the Supreme Soviet the right to adopt and enact legislation introducing constitutional changes. Yet, according to the Constitution, this is the congress' prerogative. It is a serious warning of the vexed situation where you have two organs producing legislation.

We must find an effective management mechanism that presupposes the existence of the Supreme Soviet alone. The congress has played an important role, but this role is now over, in my view.

As for the Supreme Soviet, it is a permanently operating organ, therefore all the people elected to it must give up their previous posts. This has not happened. A number of Supreme Soviet members are like semideputies, semi-officials. In other words, they are not performing their functions properly, either at work or in parliament.

K.F. Sheremet: I want to object to some of the ideas put forward here. We must not forget what kind of state our society was in only five years ago. I believe there have been two outstanding events in the history of perestroyka—the 19th party conference and the creation of the congress. In fact, the formation of the congress meant the holding of the first normal elections, and this cannot be overestimated. The elections really rocked society.

I believe the congress has not exhausted its potential and we cannot apply that criterion to it. Are there flaws in the work of the congress and the Supreme Soviet? There are. What are they? Certain things are inhibiting legislative activity. But one cannot claim that the congress is merely a talking-shop. Do not forget that if one were to eliminate the congress now, a great number of links between the provinces and the center, via the deputies would be ruptured. This is a direct connection and it works. It seems to me that the question of the congress' existence is a question of strengthening democracy.

V.A. Tumanov: People very often argue that if the congress were abolished the number of people's deputies would be reduced. But at the same time the size of the Supreme Soviet could be increased somewhat. In bourgeois parliaments there are usually two chambers, and a total of 1,000 or more deputies in parliament. Another point is that there, the chambers operate separately, a system which we should switch to here, too.

At the moment the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet work together virtually all the time—they have not yet discussed any major draft laws separately. But in my view the Soviet of Nationalities should differ substantially from the Soviet of the Union in terms of its standing orders, since in the latter chamber there should be a consensus, and in a number of cases it is possible to vote by delegations.

The following structure, for instance, could be considered: The president is invested with the right to sign laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet. If he sees that a law is faulty or a certain article is faulty, he sends the draft law back to the Supreme Soviet for reexamination. The Supreme Soviet does not suffer any infringement of its rights in this respect, because it can confirm its decision by a stipulated majority of votes in an individual ballot by names.

I think the president must be given the right to dissolve the Supreme Soviet by agreement with the leadership of each of the chambers if insuperable contradictions arise between the chambers. The Supreme Soviet should have the right to call the president to account if there are grounds for this. In short, it is necessary to create a system of restraints and counterbalances, so as to ensure a precise balance of power.

Monopoly Is Stagnation, Immobility

A.A. Mishin: Presidential power can be of any kind. But in any event we will not have the separation of powers as long as a one-party system exists. It will "erode" all our proposals. Let us observe that all the countries where socialism in its former, obsolete form is being dismantled have already abandoned the one-party system. We have lived all our lives amid a herd of "sacred cows." Chief among them is the one-party system, although it cannot be justified logically. In dialectics, we say that development is the unity and struggle of opposites. If there is no opposite, a monopoly springs up, and monopoly is decay and stagnation. No one has adduced a single reasonable argument in defense of the one-party system—only incantations. They say our country is not ready for a multiparty system. Yet in practice it already exists—look at the informal organizations, people's fronts, and so forth.

Konstantin Filippovich Sheremet has asserted that if the number of deputies is reduced their links with the voters will be broken. That is another "sacred cow." Throughout our history we have extolled the imperative mandate and the right of recall. But is it really necessary for a deputy to represent the interests not of the entire people, but only of his own okrug? I was talking with some Supreme Soviet members recently. Voters constantly appeal to them: My roof leaks, there is no road, my house is falling down, one thing and another.... But all this falls within the competence of the local authorities. The country's Supreme Soviet should concern itself with nationwide affairs, with lawmaking.

V.M. Savitskiy, doctor of legal sciences, chief of a department at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law: We learned long ago that the main question for any revolution is the question of power. This question is assuming acute practical significance. It is not a theoretical problem now. I said in the press that the congress is a purely outward tribute to tradition that will give us nothing in practice. Unfortunately that is indeed how it has turned out. The main defect of the congress is that it is an organ capable of removing from the Supreme Soviet certain very important duties and part of the responsibility. The Supreme Soviet becomes able to avoid making decisions: It is not our decision, they can say, the congress will decide. But the congress ,too, makes very few decisions, we have seen that.... So a vicious circle is formed, retarding any decisions or concrete actions, and thus retarding the pace of the development of reforms, which is at present, in my view, the most important thing.

Now, the separation of powers—which until recently we regarded as absolutely unacceptable, "bourgeois rubbish" which people are supposedly trying to foist on our society. But life has brought us to the conclusion that a really strong power needs separation. We were simply slow in grasping what the experience of world civilization has demonstrated. It is not only a question of the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial power. Another power—party power—is hampering their separation.

One of the participants in our "roundtable" said that party power is beginning to yield its ground. It is not beginning to do anything of the kind. Why are we trying to deceive ourselves? As long as party power persists in its present state, it will not give up to the soviets the functions that are rightly theirs. So there is nothing to separate: Legislative, executive, and judicial power are in the hands of the party apparatus. Therefore, the separation of powers is still only an ideal which we must strive for.

A Clear Political Course Is Needed

B.P. Kurashvili, doctor of legal sciences, leading scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law: I would like to continue the line of political science that has been latent in virtually all the remarks here. Yes, a transition is taking place, but unless we supply a direct and decisive answer to the question of what we are making a transition to, all the rest will also be indecisive. It was indecisiveness in politics that created a very grave situation in our country, and all the misfortunes attending perestroyka are associated with it. I think we are making a transition from one model of socialism to another. But the transitional period requires concrete formulation of the political line.

Let us say frankly that revolutionary phraseology around perestroyka has led to the emergence in society of an urge to destroy everything and turn everything upside down. This phraseology to some extent promoted the emergence of lumpen politics and lumpen politicians. This reality must be reckoned with.

Today we are discussing these problems from the viewpoint of the rationalization of the institutions of power. Yes, the institutions must be rationalized. It is quite clear that the Congress of People's Deputies is a revival not of the idea of congresses of soviets, but rather of the zemskiy sobor [assembly of the land—early Russian parliament]. This is not an up-to-date institution. We must have a proper parliament.

B.N. Topornin: We pin great hopes on the present leader, but must draw up a model for any kind of future. That means it is necessary to provide for measures restricting the very possibility of tyranny or despotism. There should be a mechanism governing the accountability, monitoring, and term of office of the leader and the possibility of replacing him, a mechanism that would not allow him absolute power or a monopoly of power. We need a smooth-running democratic mechanism of supreme power: A plenipotentiary parliament, an effective president, an active government.

[Editorial postscript] Less than a year has passed since the opening of the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and the work experience of the renewed Supreme Soviet amounts to a matter of months. Have we any right to make as many complaints against the authorities as we are making today? But let us not forget: Time is so intensively packed with such a multiplicity of events and changes, and presents our society so frequently with highly complex tasks that did not exist in past decades, that the time allowed us to resolve them is extremely short.

Life has brought to the fore not only the positive phenomena of the perestroyka years, but also the shortcomings and errors committed in recent years and even months. In the opinion of scholars, an obvious need has also emerged to improve power and the mechanisms of power that ensure citizens' rights and the further development of democracy. There is also much that must be changed in the activity of the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, their functions, and the functions of our head of state. Life reveals this, and the participants in our "roundtable" came inevitably to this conclusion.

People describe perestroyka as a "revolution started from 'above.'" Well, the transformation of the perestroyka processes themselves and the improvement of relations within society, between the people and power, power and the state institutions, and the individual and the state should clearly also begin by improving the upper echelons of power. This process must be pursued to the very lowest level—the level of settlement, rural, and rayon soviets. Only thus is it possible to accelerate perestroyka processes, overcome the braking factors, and resolve the seething doubts and conflicts within society.

Volgograd Rally Appeals to CPSU Over Renewal

LD0402203890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Our correspondent has reported from Volgograd about a rally today which was attended by thousands, including Communist Party members, nonparty people, and representatives of informal associations. Participants expressed their lack of trust in the entire membership of the oblast executive committee and demanded the convocation of an extraordinary emergency session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies.

Those taking part in the meeting appealed to the CPSU Central Committee plenum which opens tomorrow. The appeal says:

The people have been waiting for perestroyka from the ruling party for 5 years. Its credit stock of trust has run out. We call on the CPSU Central Committee plenum to speed up the convocation of the extraordinary 28th party congress, and to hold direct multicandidate elections for delegates to the congress from the party's grass-roots organizations according to their platforms, and to take a decisive step on the path to democratic renewal of the party and the whole of society.

Ryabev Commission Dialogue in Kuzbass Productive

PM0102150790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Positions Stated"]

[Text] Kemerovo, 29 Jan—The government commission in the Kuzbass headed by L.D. Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has completed its examination of and discussion about the progress in fulfilling the protocols signed by the government commission last July, as well as USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No. 608.

On the whole, the dialogue between the government commission and the workers committees was productive. Documents, on whose fulfillment the prospects for developing and socially restructuring the cities of the Kuzbass depend, were signed. The fact that, as of January, Kemerovo Oblast has been included in the experiment to develop a new economic management mechanism based on self-management and self-financing attests to the positive processes currently taking place in this large industrial part of the country. A resolution has been adopted on the socioeconomic development of the Kuzbass in the coming 5-year plan. Measures to improve the ecological situation in the region are also envisaged.

However, during the talks the sides' opinions on certain issues failed to coincide. That, for instance, is why the government commission and the Council of Kuzbass Workers Committees failed to reach common agreement on their assessment of the progress in carrying out the oblast protocol. Opinions differed on points connected with regional economic accountability and the granting of full autonomy to enterprises. By mutual agreement it was decided to set up a commission with the participation of members of the USSR Supreme Soviet to examine the interpretations on which the sides' views differ.

Commenting on the results of the government commission's visit to the Kuzbass, L.D. Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, told this TASS correspondent:

"Our main aim was to check on the fulfillment of what had been planned. We carried out that check. But, naturally, there can be different assessments of the fulfillment of certain points. The people with whom we met in the Kuzbass have an excellent grasp of the problems, but want to solve them more quickly. That is why, despite the fact that a final protocol was not signed, it was discussed and positions were stated. After my visit to the Kuzbass I can state with every justification that I have even greater confidence that everything enshrined in the summer agreements will be carried out in full—perhaps with certain delays on questions of supply and the construction of certain projects."

Earthquake in Kirghizia; No Casualties

LD0302083490 Moscow TASS in English 0819 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Frunze February 3 TASS—An earthquake occurred in Kirghizia at 17.04 [1404 GMT] Moscow time, on Friday. According to the seismology institute of the Kirghiz Academy of Sciences, the magnitude of the jolt was about six points in the earthquake's focus located 32 kilometres south-east of the town of Issyk-Kul (Rybachye). Earth tremors were estimated at 4-5 points in the town of Issyk- Kul and Komsomol and Kochkorka villages, 3-4 points at Kadji-Sai settlement and 2-3 points in the cities of Frunze, Cholpon-ata and Tokmak.

According to preliminary data, no one was hurt.

Earthquake Hits Central Asia

LD0502132990 Moscow TASS in English 1320 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Dushanbe February 5 TASS —An earthquake struck Central Asia at 0817, Moscow time, today.

The earthquake, the epicentre of which was in Afghanistan, affected a large territory in Central Asia. TASS reports from Tashkent and Dushanbe say that the earthquake measured three in Tashkent, Osh and Rogun, four in Andizhan, Ferghana, Samarkand and Namangan, four to five—in Dushanbe and Kulyab, five —in Garm and six—in Khorog.

According to preliminary reports, there were no casualties. A few old houses were insignificantly damaged in Khorog.

Soothsayer Predicts Quake, Panics Karagandans

PM0602084190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent O. Stefashin report under rubric "Rumors and Facts": "End of World in Karaganda"]

[Text] Karaganda—Panic-stricken rumors are sweeping Karaganda. It is being claimed that an unprecedentedly strong earthquake will take place 3 March and wipe the city from the face of the earth.

Although Karaganda has been shaken before, it was only by nuclear tests at the Semipalatinsk Test Range. Admittedly, people had rather gotten used to them, but now the talk about a new disaster has impassioned the entire population. I called Sh. Urazalinov, chairman of the city soviet executive committee, and asked what he thought about it.

"We don't know what to do," Shaymerden Abilmazhinovich said despondently. "If we believe the rumors, the news of an imminent catastrophe was imported. The news was brought by our tourists who had visited the Bulgarian soothsayer Vanga. Admittedly, we here on the spot took steps and turned to well-known specialists who gave explanations in the oblast newspaper. But...."

A. Shakirov, laboratory chief at the republic Academy of Sciences Central Kazakhstan Department's Institute of Mathematics and Mechanics, stated the following: "Karaganda is not in a seismic zone and an earthquake in our region is wholly unlikely." This was backed by Professor A. Kurskeyev, director of the Alma-Ata Seismology Institute. The scientists backed up their opinions with many years of observations and results of seismic research. There is every reason to believe these specialists. But, regrettably, few people are listening to their assessments.

The panic continues to mount. Citizens are not wasting their time before the world ends—they are withdrawing their savings from the bank, selling their homes, and stocking up on airplane and train tickets. Incidentally, they are buying tickets to anywhere. It will be interesting to see if there are enough to go round.

Economic

Aeroflot To Lease Five European Airbuses

PM0102152090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Belikov report: "Aeroflot To Lease A-310 Airbuses"]

[Text] A delegation from the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation signed an agreement on the leasing of five A-310 airbuses by Aeroflot in the French city of Toulouse, where the air assembly enterprise of the West European concern "Airbus Industrie" is located.

Let us recall that the agreement on so-called lease rental [lizingovaya arenda] does not envisage any currency payments from the state budget. The airbuses, by carrying foreign passengers on the most profitable international routes passing over our country, will themselves earn the funds to pay for their own cost in 10 years, and will also make it possible to obtain considerable additional revenue.

The need to resort to leasing foreign-manufactured aircraft arose from the considerable laggardness in the production of our country's new Il-96 airliners in relation to the time originally scheduled. In the opinion of a group of experts from the Ministry of Civil Aviation, in effect the utilization of these aircraft will not begin earlier than 1992-93. The first A-310's will reach us in the fall of 1991.

By that time, with the help of a West European airline, our crews and teams of technical specialists will be ready to operate Aeroflot's airbuses. What is a wide-bodied A-310 like? The airliner, which is equipped with two highly economical turbofan engines, is capable of carrying 170 passengers a distance of 7,300 km at a velocity of 850 kph nonstop. The plane is fitted with sophisticated piloting and navigational systems making it easy for two pilots to control it on long journeys. And the large team of stewardesses provides passengers with the ultimate in comfort and convenience.

The head of the Soviet delegation, A. Aksenov, deputy minister of civil aviation, stressed in a talk with IZVESTIYA's correspondent that one attractive aspect of the agreement concluded is the possibility of familiarizing the Aeroflot service with aviation equipment of the highest standard and the most modern methods of serving air travelers.

Contract With Airbus Industrie Signed

LD3001192890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 30 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] And now about an event which—and it is in my view no exaggeration—opens up a new stage in the history of our civil aviation. An agreement between the Soviet Union and the multinational aircraft manufacturing corporation Airbus Industrie has been signed in the French town of Toulouse. Here is our correspondent in France with the details:

[Correspondent S. Iezuitov, identified by caption] The contract is worth $350 million. According to it, in the autumn of next year our country will take delivery of ten such planes. [video shows an A-310 plane taking off] These are airbuses from the A-310-300 series. The payments as provided for in the contract are to be spread over 10 years. If things go well, however, we shall be able to pay it much sooner. In order to have an idea about the production process we visited the factory where these planes, which carry 193 passengers, are assembled. [video shows Aerospatiale factory, its interior, the plane] The plane is easy to control and this was confirmed by the Soviet pilot who sat at the controls during the demonstration flight. While the pilots discuss the machine's merits, we shall attempt to clarify one more question:

Aleksandr Fedorovich [Aksenov, USSR deputy minister of civil aviation], people looking at our reportage now are surely asking why is it that we actually need such planes. What is it? Are ours are not as good, or do we have so much hard currency? How do you explain this?

[Aksenov] First, we do not have any hard currency, neither we nor our budget. That is why this deal—for that is what we shall call it—provides precisely for this system being self-recouping. That is to say, the plane should be able to pay for itself on international routes and the earnings, in dollars, must be directed toward paying for the plane's cost. So, that is the main thing. Naturally it is a gain, no doubt, that we shall do some work involving state-of-the-art world-class equipment, large-class equipment, as it were—and our equipment will be involved, too. Let us look at real life. Why argue now whose equipment is better and whose is worse? I am confident that ours will work quite well, but competition is competition, as they say.

[Iezuitov] Let me add that once the leasing of the plane commences, our budget will receive an additional $5 million a year. So this is how, when you have no hard currency, you can get it literally from the air. The first steps have been taken—but what can the future look like? (Cristian Crache), test pilot and vice president of the firm, is at the microphone:

[(Crache) in English with superimposed Russian translation] Yes, I think we are on a good path. We now have precisely what Aeroflot needs. In the long run we will surely begin to cooperate also with the industry, the manufacturing plants.

Finance Expert Outlines Banking Reform

LD0602000190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1559 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] The delay in reforming the banking system of the USSR has to a considerable extent had an influence on the continuing growth of the budget deficit and the internal state debt, the instability of money circulation, and the growth of material-financial imbalance in the economy, said Aleksandr Khandruyev, director of the Credit Finance Scientific Research Institute of USSR Banks at a press meeting in the USSR State Bank today. The logic of the development of economic transformations in the USSR has placed on the agenda the task of developing a clear concept for a national stereotype of a banking system in the country. At present, Aleksandr Khandruyev noted, the basic contours of this system have been defined, and it will be embodied in the basic laws regulating banking in the country adopted up to the year 1992. This is the law on the USSR State Bank (USSR Gosbank) and the law on the banks of the USSR. The key elements of this new system which opens up a qualitatively new stage in the development of the Soviet economy in the direction of market precepts should be constructed on the same principles which have been adopted in world banking practice. This presumes in the first instance an active role of the banks in making economic decisions at a macro and micro level. This also means sufficient autonomy of the banking system from administrative bodies and increasing the role of the country's central bank—the USSR Gosbank—and its credit and monetary levers in implementing economic policy by way of a system of commerical banks.

A new organizational structure of banking in the country, Aleksandr Khandruyev said, should represent a two-tier system where at the uppermost level will be the bank of banks—the USSR Gosbank—which will fulfill the role of the government creditor and maintain communications with the commercial banks, of which there are already more than 200 in the country. In so doing, the right is conferred to freely choose the size and the form of commercial banks, where the market should determine the need for the cooperative or the innovative, with or without the involvement of foreign capital and industrial sector or regional banks. The development of banking reform will also make it possible to resolve such imminent tasks as providing commercial banks with the right, besides the USSR Vneshekonombank, to effect operations in the foreign market and to open representative offices abroad.

One of the most important directions of the reform is the formation of a qualitatively new credit and monetary mechanism for regulating the economy. Among the economic instruments of such a mechanism, Aleksandr Khandruyev cited operations in the open market, a policy of obligatory reserves, and percentage policy. It is impossible to implement all of these measures without transforming interbank transactions on the basis of automation and computerization, the director of the institute noted.

Other important measures for the further development of banking in the country were outlined. These were the gradual transformation of specialized banks into state-commercial banks; the gradual process of setting up commercial banks on a shareholding basis; the development of external bank auditing [inaudit]; and the long-term elimination of the monopoly of the USSR Vneshekonombank on effecting export and import operations and the conduct of foreign exchange deals, Aleksandr Khandruyev said in conclusion.

Federov on Need for Capital Market

PM0502172090 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 4, 28 Jan 90 p 10

[Article by CPSU Central Committee Socio-Economic Department consultant Boris Federov: "Capital Market, Not Stock Exchange"]

[Text] A civilized market is unthinkable without a stock exchange. It is not question of the name or its appearance. It is the mechanism itself which ensures the rational movement of capital, based on economic laws. The 10-year existence of stock exchanges in the USSR (1921-30) is ancient history, and the sophistication of Western stock exchanges is still in the future. Where can we begin?

Our economists' simplistic view of a capital market is a stock exchange. Some idealize the latter, some dismiss it as a fleecing operation. "Securities" conjure up "rentiers", "living off on dividends", "parasitism". In real life everything is simpler: trading securities on a stock exchange is a way of organizing the circulation of money. This is a device that can be used in any system.

What we need is a capital market, not a stock exchange which can be easily turned into a "market" in name and into a bureaucratic establishment in practice. The market first and foremost requires commercial banks with the ability to trade in money. More than 200 commercial and cooperative banks existing in the USSR to date provide the basis for the market. We should start right off with a special electronic trading system, otherwise dozens of stock exchanges would be needed, given the scale of the country. Nothing should be invented: The transactions and payments system should be bought abroad.

What shouldn't be done is to copy the whole multitude of financial institutions and tools that exist in the rest of the world. But it is essential to understand the meaning of credits, shares and bonds.

The fundamental issue is shares. There should be real shares which make their holders co-owners of enterprises. Upon approval of the company's performance, shareholders should have the right to elect the directors and to share the profits. This requires civilized relations between the state and the company (taxes), and a secondary trading of shares. It's another question that shares should be inscribed, that they should be traded openly, and that their prices should be within everybody's reach (if a share costs, say, a thousand roubles, this would be discriminating against low-income workers) with shopfloor workers and office employees of the enterprise preferred to outside shareholders.

Shares are a human invention on a par with the wheel. They are already perfect because they establish a clear relation between both parties. Managers are supposed to do a balancing act between the state interests (taxes), shareholders (dividends), employees (payroll)—all in conditions of a market economy, where they must take account of competition and supply and demand. At first glance, it is harder to operate this system than the one where resources are directly planned, but in practical terms it produces spectacular results.

"Taking out of state control" is our invented jargon for "denationalization" or "privatization". Whatever you call it, the problem remains. The state is not supposed to take on functions alien to it, and the less painful way to radically change its role in the economy is to turn our enterprises into stock companies. This gives us a tremendous chance to raise their efficiency. At the risk of being called a conservative, I should say that I do not regard the issue of ownership as being crucial in industry. There should be normal legislation for shareholding instead of experiments with the ownership of work collectives, republics, and other pipe dreams. The state can still own a considerable part of enterprises but as a shareholder. In case shareholding rights of ministries, enterprises or organizations will be circumscribed - there'll be no more management by fiat. It will become clear how to divide profits, and how to relate to the state. Shifting enterprises from one authority to another would no longer be practised, and only their shares could be sold and bought. Should dividends grow too slowly or pay grow too rapidly, shareholders would either elect new directors or sell their shares. Dividends would fall if someone tries to save on expansion of production. This would encourage concern for both current and future interests. Production ties would grow stronger through enterprises and banks sharing each other's capital.

Trying to build a Western-type stock market in a year or two is not possible. During the first stage of the reform efforts should be limited to issuing and ensuring the free circulation of shares among legal bodies. As far as the public is concerned, they should, for the time being, be offered bonds to be repaid in three to five years (obligations to pay specified sums in 10-15 years can hardly be trusted today by anyone). Shares to the bearer are out of the question - stock companies should know their shareholders in order not to end up under mafia control.

In our conditions, it would be easier to deal with bonds—they can raise funds regardless of who owns them. The circulation of bonds in enterprises, organizations, and among the population will increase the number of creditors and establish horizontal fianancial links. The state would only have to put into effect economic policy. Commercial credits in the shape of installment payments and mutual credits would also strengthen relations of cost accounting and encourage greater self-reliance of enterprises.

Of fundamental importance is the creation of an interbank money market, i.e., a system whereby banks can exchange funds. In this case surplus money in one region, sector, or enterprise, would be channelled into other ones through the banks. Banks can grant one another credits, and buy and sell securities. Using securities any individual or enterprise can get access to these operations. As long as there is no market, there can be no meaningful interest rates which regulate the economy.

The market is also necessary to create a real central bank. The idea of an independent state bank was also debated at the Congress of People's Deputies. But even the most independent central bank will be useless if it proves to be unable to influence the demand of and supply of credits by increasing or decreasing the interest rate, selling and buying securities, and using other devices. Without these abilities, it cannot influence the production process. The only snag is the inability of the management bodies to come to terms with the idea that banks will no longer follow orders.

A real step towards creating a capital market is the decision to finance the 60 billion rouble deficit by issuing bonds. Sixty billion roubles worth of bonds will be circulated among enterprises, as well as treasury notes worth 15 billion roubles to be circulated among the population. It is gratifying to know that the deficit will no longer be covered by merely issuing more money.

But there is still no legal or technical basis for state debt financing. Where securities are to be deposited, what impact this is going to have on money circulation, demand, and securities issued earlier? I think a repayment period of 16 years and an annual return of five percent can attract few people. This would only result in a transfer from the state bank of savings and state bonds issued in 1982. It's also hard to expect enterprises to invest of their own accord 60 billion roubles (the greater part of their uncommitted resources) in bonds. Bonds entitling their bearers to buy goods in short supply would have a greater chance for success, but unless interest is paid on these bonds, this measure would be tantamount to increasing prices.

But still the major problem is the lack of macroeconomic thinking. In a simplified form, a Western economy consists of the three components: the state, business, and the population. The state can't finance itself by simply printing money (no one can be allowed to sap the country's foundation), and it has limited possibilities to sell bonds to business and the public. In our conditions there is really only one thing—the system of savings which is part of the state budget. Authorities regard the funds of enterprises as their own, and can always resort to the printing press. For this reason, to cover the state debt one can only count on hoarded money, or cooperators who (due to the inconsistency of our legislation) convert their money into bonds and registered savings bank certificates. A direct imitation of the Western mechanism to finance the state debt in the present situation would be absurd.

What must be done today is to define the state's role in the economy, to stop channelling all financial resources through the center, and to make it possible for the banks to distribute money on a commercial basis. At this stage there has been no progress towards creating equality among different economic sectors and a normal monetary and credit system. An independent central bank and the use of monetary and credit tools in the prevailing conditions would not help much.

We have already demonstrated our amateurishness by legalizing shares one-and-a-half years ago without altering the status of enterprises, and by issuing million of quasi-shares. The setting up of a capital market is a long and complicated process, while converting the debt into securities first and foremost requires all the trust it can muster from the public and enterprises. The time for juggling with economic terms is over. It's time for action, time for passing laws on stock companies and securities, on a system to regulate a capital market.

Trade Unions Create Commercial Bank

LD0302122290 Moscow TASS in English 1043 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 3 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov:

The trade unions's first commercial bank was created in the Soviet Union.

Commenting on this news, Galina Sukhoruchenkova, secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), said that the founding of commercial and cooperaive banks became possible due to the economic reform in the country. Over 200 such banks have been registered by now. These banks accumulate enterprises' and organisations' free funds and divert them in the form of credits to various branches of the national economy.

"However, until now there had never been a bank channelling its credits into the social sector. Meanwhile, central trade union bodies and also trade union organisations of some enterprises and organisations have huge funds which are spread thin on numerous accounts. A bank alone can, as a credit institution, collect them and divert on a return and paid basis to some or other project", Sukhorichenkova noted.

"The principal task of the USSR trade unions' bank is to credit projects to develop the material base of social and cultural establishments, the tourist, sport, health, rest and recreation centres, to solve the housing problem, increase the output and the quality of consumer goods and services to the population. There are plans to create subsidiaries across the country to ensure that bank's effective operation.

"The USSR trade unions' bank intends to form business contacts with similar foreign banks and use their expertise in its operation. It has already received proposals for cooperation from several banks," Sukhoruchenkova said.

Pavlov Interviewed on System of Taxation

LD0302221890

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1834 GMT on 3 February in its "Topical Interview" program, carries a 15-minute interview with USSR Minister of Finance V.S. Pavlov by G. Kalashnikova.

Kalashnikova begins the interview by asking Pavlov about tariffs and taxes. Pavlov explains that the freight haulage tariffs used today were adopted in 1954 and 1974 on a tonnes-per-kilometer basis. He noted that because of the tariffs the rail, air, and water transport sectors are running at a loss and says new tariffs are now being introduced to ensure greater efficiency. These are based on payment according to "theoretical weight for the use of a wagon to transport freight;" there will also be special tariffs for specialized freight cars, and more rational use will be made of road haulage, outlines Pavlov. He continues, noting this should result in "very major savings of between five and 10 percent, depending on the type of transportation." He stresses the money thereby saved will be used to develop the freight transport sector.

Kalashnikova asks the reasons for the introduction of a tax on staffing, wage funds, and wage growth in public organizations and enterprises belonging to them. Pavlov replies that what has been introduced is not a tax, but a "payment for adminstrators" aimed at optimizing administrative staff numbers. Enterprises now have to pay 600 rubles for each administrator, while the payment for shopfloor workers remains at 300 rubles. This reflects the extra costs borne by society to train adminstrators. The payment applies to all enterprises, whether they belong to the state or public organizations, explained Pavlov, since all citizens receive free education, health care, etc., from the state.

Kalashnikova continues; "People are saying that world practice confirms that during a crisis—which is what we are experiencing now—and when inflation is growing in our country as it is now, governments adopt the opposite measures to what we are now adopting. That is, they reduce the average level of taxation on enterprises, for these very kinds of financially autonomous and ...cooperative enterprises to increase people's level of business activity and to obtain immediatley a large inflow of money through resource circulation, instead of strangling them, so to speak, with new taxes. How would you respond to this?"

Pavlov answers: "There are certain issues in our country on which one often sees this mechanistic system of automatically adopting methods that look identical on the outside, but are totally different in substance—in capitalist conditions with private property and in our conditions of public property. Until now we have been experiencing, I would say, a growth in the value of unfinished construction rather than a growth in production capacities and their renewal. I can therefore tell you of my conviction that for our tax system we need a principle of equality, stability, and linkage of the interests of enterprises with those of society as a whole. This is why we believe the tax we are proposing to introduce for enterprises should be stable and irrespective of who the enterprise belongs to, taking into account, naturally, the interests of the collective, i.e., there should be enough for reproduction and to satisfy social requirements. If this is the case the tax should not strangle. This is why have proposed a linear tax rather than a progressive one." The new system will ensure "fairer" tax distribution, he notes.

Asked whether he favors "the market," Pavlov replies he does, "though for a controlled market," adding that markets are now controlled throughout the world. He stresses command methods should not be used.

In concluding remarks, Pavlov says that "while we are unable to provide the level of material well-being enjoyed by Americans today, we can provide ourselves with a decent living standard in the near future."

Stepanov Writes on USSR's GATT Status

LD0302194190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0945 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 3 Feb. (TASS)—TASS economic observer Yuriy Stepanov writes:

The possibility of granting the USSR observer status at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is a topic of discussion at the multilateral consultations on this matter that begin next week in Western Europe. The TASS correspondent was informed of this at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

One of the main arguments of the Western countries and above all the United States, when they earlier opposed the admission of the USSR to GATT, was the claim that the USSR's foreign economic system could not be compared with the GATT requirements. In particular, it was claimed that the absence in the Soviet Union of an effectively operating system of customs tariffs strips the principle of reciprocity in tariff concessions of economic content.

A major task of the economic reform now being implemented in the USSR is precisely to ensure the country's equal involvement in the international division of labor and its harmonious entry into the existing multilateral trading system on the basis of existing norms and regulations. This explains the Soviet Union's interest in GATT. At the basis of economic restructuring in the USSR there is a consistent line of developing a regulated socialist market. At the same time a whole complex of measures to radically renew the mechanism of foreign economic links are being implemented. Open foreign trade legislation is being drafted. Nontariff regulatory measures are being implemented, and an effective customs tariff and commonly accepted customs and tariff statistics are being introduced.

A representative interdepartmental commission has been set up in the USSR to coordinate work to draw closer to GATT. Its remit particularly includes seeing that internal and external economic instruments strictly accord with GATT norms and principles.

It is being noted with satisfaction in the Soviet Union that certain positive changes are now occurring in the positions of the Western countries. This is shown in particular by statements that have been made by the leaders of the United States, France, Canada, and Japan about the possibility of granting the Soviet Union observer status in the General Agreement. It is pointed out in Soviet diplomatic circles that the USSR is ready to begin a businesslike and specific dialogue with the West on this matter.

In the final analysis the accession to GATT of such a large-scale trading power as the Soviet Union will facilitate the development and strengthening of the world trade system, in which all those involved in world economic links are doubtlessly interested.

Problems With SRV Workers in Enterprises

904F0071A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 90 p 3

[Interview with V. Buynovskiy, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Labor; N. Golubev, ZIL chief personnel officer; and Dao Khai Khoan, labor department head of the SRV Embassy in the USSR, by O. Svishcheva and D. Sabov: "Foreigners Will Help Us Out, Won't They?"]

[Text] *We have been trying to cure our economy for eight years now by using the labor of foreign "limited term residence" workers. Has this medicine been chosen correctly?*

During the past year the problem of Vietnamese workers in the USSR became as critical as can be. It was not by accident that just before 1989 ended our newspapers and magazines were flooded with passions and emotions born in store lines.

V. Buynovskiy, deputy chairman of Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor]:

"The enterprises are just begging us to give them the Vietnamese workers."

[O. Svishcheva, D. Sabov] The "Vietnam problem" arose out of the blue in the fifth year of perestroyka and there is one facet of it that is really surprising. Apparently, the average citizen is violently against the foreign workers. Some people's deputies also speak against them, and local authorities in some places are already "taking measures." But if everybody is against them, then who is for them? Maybe that is you, Viktor Mikhaylovich?

[V. Buynovskiy] Honestly speaking, your question is no less surprising for me than the speech made by one of the deputies at a plenary session of the Supreme Soviet. He insisted that Goskomtrud compelled the enterprises to take the Vietnamese. Sorry, but they beg us for them. For a long time we have not been able to satisfy all the requests for them.

Let us call a spade a spade. There is a chronic shortage of hands in our consumer industry, which is the main user of the Vietnamese labor force. A Soviet citizen would need residential registration, an apartment, as well as vacancies for his children in a kindergarten. A Vietnamese drawing the same salary is satisfied with just a bed in the dormitory. He is also bound by a four- to six-year contract that "ties" him to his working place and that decreases worker turnover at our enterprises.

[O. Svishcheva, D. Sabov] Tell us, aren't you shocked by the fact that we are now talking about the use of foreign labor, a policy similar to that of the Western countries which we condemned for so many years?

[V. Buynovskiy] Times change and our use of foreign labor becomes a normal event. For that reason our cooperation with the SRV will probably continue. Don't forget, however, that the agreement also provides for professional training and subsequent work in the industry. The Vietnamese are also allowed 15 working days of leave a year to attend advanced training courses.

[O. Svishcheva, D. Sabov] Are you concerned that there has begun to be talk about unemployment in our country? And how do you see the future of this cooperation?

[V. Buynovskiy] It is still early to speak about unemployment since we cannot provide the industries with the necessary work force. As for the future, the Vietnamese side is talking about extending the contract. But now most of the contracts will be concluded directly with the factories themselves. Our committee will regulate them from the organizational and methodical points of view.

N. Golubev, ZIL plant chief personnel officer:

"Foreign workers that are brought in unbalance our program of fighting the 'limited term residence' workers."

[O. Svishcheva, D. Sabov] Nikolay Ivanovich, Comrade Buynovskiy told us that the consumer industries are the main users of the Vietnamese work force. How have you become one of the "beggars"?

[N. Golubev] We permanently require 14,500 workers and Moscow can provide less than 3,500 people a year. Before they closed the "limited term residents" employment we could manage somehow. But two years ago the permit to use workers from other cities was withdrawn and our city and party authorities gave us the choice: Either cut down the production plan which, of course, nobody would have let us do, or find more workers.

Our road to this measure was a hard one. Our factory already had some categories of workers that demanded extra attention: temporary force, apprentices, and drug users. And all of a sudden there comes a third category—foreigners. The Vietnamese come here in a very weakened state; it is difficult to get them to the store to buy clothes for them as they cannot travel by bus. For them to get used to our workers is a slow and complex process. There are very few people that are qualified to work in our field.

[O. Svishcheva, D. Sabov] The memorable September fight in the ZIL dormitory (we heard that you, the moderating side, caught it there too) summed up the "residential conflicts." We are becoming all the more aggressive towards the Vietnamese. Where did this intolerance come from? How can we make ourselves look at all this from the outside?

[N. Golubev] I consider the 22 September fight on the Orekhovy Prospect a turning point since it shows how heated public emotions are. Here is my personal opinion: It was the worst of mistakes to invite the Vietnamese here; it should not have been done for anything. The point of the matter is that Moscow (still!) has better supplies than the provinces and all the Vietnamese working in the USSR rapidly converted the city into a cargo handling facility. Both the gorkom [city party committee] and the ispolkom [executive committee] should have considered the psychological atmosphere in Moscow. Instead, they set our citizens against the "limited term residence" workers and after that they imported more foreign workers. To sum it up: Cutting down on the employment of people from other cities was a mistake, but importing foreign workers was an even bigger mistake. Today we should admit it and urgently try to find some fundamental solution. But I fear that right now we are not prepared for this solution. Obviously, it is our problems that gave rise to the conflicts with the Vietnamese.

If the city authorities had listened to us before and had accepted our proposals on the use of workers from other cities we would have never used foreign labor. Our plant had designed a program to stabilize the workers' turnover and, according to that program, our requirements for "limited term residence" workers would have been phased out by 1995. Unfortunately, the two years that the Vietnamese had been working there threw it all out of balance as our best qualified workers started to drift away.

Dao Khai Khoan, head of the labor department of the SRV Embassy in the USSR:

"Our cooperation will be meaningful only if it provides for the interests of both sides."

[O. Svishcheva, D. Sabov] Lately the Soviet papers have frequently written about the problems caused by the presence of Vietnamese workers in the USSR and by the negative attitude the population is showing to them. We would like to know your opinion on this, comrade Khoan.

[Dao Khai Khoan] I will hardly be saying anything new if I mention that for a long time the Soviet media practically did not touch on the subject, and our cooperation in the area of work force is almost nine years old. And now, after a prolonged and rather favorable silence, your press has begun to tell its readers how the Vietnamese workers make the rounds of the stores and buy everything there, and how they display their ethnic traits in everyday life and at work. Honestly speaking, I would not have found anything unusual in these articles had there been also detailed explanations of the mutual benefits of our cooperation.

What does surprise me is the fact that at every meeting or conference attended by the managers of Soviet enterprises they talk only about the achievements of our workers and nothing else. Your comrades claim that the Vietnamese workers are well-disciplined, maintain rather a high productivity, and many of them exceed the planned figures—in a word, they successfully produce those very consumer goods which later cause conflicts with the local population. The Soviet press, however, does not cover this aspect at all and our workers are mentioned only when there is a conflict or a fight. You have to agree that one side will always seem to be in the wrong if the approach is that unbalanced.

[O. Svishcheva, D. Sabov] Does information on these conflicts reach Vietnam? Are they covered by your press?

[Dao Khai Khoan] Of course, they know about all this in Vietnam. But many people just refuse to believe it because our people feel a lot of warmth and gratitude towards the USSR. I am not lying to you; many of our people really think of the Soviet Union as a true paradise.

As for the press, it values our future cooperation very highly too and for that reason it tries to choose stories and facts that can contribute to our friendship. We do understand that today we cannot rely on agreements solely. [O. Svishcheva, D. Sabov] In your opinion, what gave rise to the isolation the Vietnamese workers very realistically experience in Soviet society and how can it be overcome? If we are not mistaken this is the first chance to hear the Vietnamese opinion in this argument.

[Dao Khai Khoan] Strangely enough, you are correct and I am very grateful to your newspaper for this opportunity to have my say. It is obvious to me that we have to search for the way out together while listening to each other attentively.

First of all let us remember that there were no special problems in our cooperation approximately until 1986. They arose about two to three years ago and this is how they present themselves to our workers: People should be ensured of their safety while traveling in the USSR, in their everyday life, and in the hostels; they should be able to spend their honestly earned money on consumer goods; and they must have definite rules for taking them out of the country. I think it is quite reasonable that we try to remove their concerns in all these aspects as per a new agreement.

[O. Svishcheva, D. Sabov] Excuse us, but was all of this forgotten in the old agreement?

[Dao Khai Khoan] Unfortunately, the 2 April 1981 agreement on "Sending and Accepting Vietnamese Citizens for Professional Training and Work in the Enterprises and Organizations of the USSR" did not provide for the interests of our citizens from either an economic or consular point of view. The proof of it is the very fact that as of today 14 (!) out of the original 19 articles of the agreement have been changed or amended while some articles were changed two or three times. Why did this happen? Try to remember the rigid commanding mechanism that regulated the economies of our two countries until recently.

In short, whatever corrections we might make in the articles of the old agreement we would not change its concept. According to [illegible] both our countries are kept within the limits of the intergovernmental agreement which demands that the rights and interests of foreign workers are provided for by the Soviet Government in general. At the same time the enterprises which need and employ the Vietnamese workers have no responsibility for ensuring the rights of my compatriots.

Another booby trap of that agreement worked too. There was no provision for the exchange of the non-convertible ruble into the Vietnamese dong, so the money earned in the USSR becomes useless paper as soon as you fly out of Sheremetyevo-II airport. So the Vietnamese naturally are looking to invest their money in things that would preserve their value outside the USSR: They have families at home for whom whatever they earned in the Soviet Union became the foundation of the family budget. Isn't it time to think about the creation of a normal mechanism for payments?

We are working very thoroughly now on the draft of a new agreement that should be signed by the end of 1990. I am convinced that it will noticeably contribute to acceleration of the new processes instead of slowing them down as it will be based on the lessons of the first 10 years of our cooperation and, what is most important, it will correspond to the new trends in the economies of our countries. There will be no reasons left for the population to feel any resentment if the enterprises employing the Vietnamese start paying them part of their salaries in transferable rubles; they also might look into the possibility of repaying the workers in their own products.

[O. Svishcheva, D. Sabov] In what other countries are Vietnamese working under the auspices of the Ministry of Labor?

[Dao Khai Khoan] There are about 200,000 Vietnamese working now in other countries. Most of them are in the USSR where we have 85,000 people in 910 enterprises; there are 60,000 in the GDR, and over 20,000 in the CSSR. Slightly over 20,000 of our people are working in Iraq; until recently we also cooperated with Algeria and other countries. I want to mention that the working conditions in the capitalist countries considerably differ from those in the USSR, for instance. The Soviet Union contracts women for four years and men for six, but Iraq hires our citizens for the term of two years and pays them $400 a month each.

I want to emphasize here that we are not aiming at big numbers; for us the main criterion of international cooperation is its effectiveness. Next year we will send only skilled workers to the Soviet Union, but this will be only half of the 16,300 people demanded by the Soviet side. And the final word: The total number of the Vietnamese working at Soviet enterprises will be reduced next year.

Instead of a commentary: Is there any need to comment on those statements? We think there is not as each of the speakers complements the others or opposes their views. It seems that the main question is: What will the new agreement be and how will it be discussed? Will it be possible to provide in it for the interests of everybody involved, or will "the outsider" judge it again by the results, looking for the guilty party and seeking justice in the store lines?

Well, it is impossible to get exact answers to all these questions in the government offices. For that reason, we do not consider the subject closed.

Statistics Indicate Shift in Priorities

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[Text] Statistics in the Russian Federation have been summing up the development of that largest Soviet Republic last year. [as heard] They say the Republic continued to shift its economic priorities towards social programs and improve its finances. The output of consumer goods grew faster than the overall industrial output. Cash incomes of the population went up by 14 percent, national income by 2.3 percent and the Gross National Product by three percent. At the same time the situation remains complex. The economic growth fell short of the planned rate and inflation worsened.

Stroyev Calls For Rural Co-Op Development

904D0053A Moscow SOVETSKAYA TORGOVLYA in Russian 20 Jan 90 pp 1-2

[Article by CPSU Central Committee Secretary Ye.S. Stroyev: "Agrarian Policy and Consumer Cooperatives"]

[Text] The present generation has to labor at a complicated, crucial stage in the history of our country. Stormy processes which are far from unequivocal have invigorated our entire public life. We have reached a turning point of history from which we cannot retreat or slow down our progress: This would amount to a defeat. We should move ahead as fast as possible, preserving in the course of this our wisdom, endurance, and firmness because the fate of many generations of Soviet people is being decided.

Recently, the proceedings of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies ended; the congress supported the measures of the government aimed at reinvigorating the economy and enhancing the economic reform, and set forth the stages of its development. In the process, particular attention was paid to issues as significant for our country as normalizing the circulation of currency and the consumer market, improving food supply, reinvigorating finances, setting the investment process in order, and reinforcing the hard-currency position of our country. Major fundamental laws for the development of our society are being worked on and adopted.

Consumer cooperatives play an important role in accomplishing all of these tasks. After all, they are fundamentally closer to the needs of our peasantry than anyone else, they work together with the peasants, suffer from the same ills, and find ways of solving the problems which develop together with the peasants. Consistent measures of an organizational, economic, and political nature taken by our party have created good conditions for enhancing the agricultural production as a foundation for the work of the cooperatives.

In 1986-89, despite droughts in two of those years, the average annual gross harvest of grain increased by 27 million tons compared to the 11th Five-Year Plan, that of sugar beets by 16.2 million tons, and that of sunflower seeds by 1.2 million tons. The average annual production of meat increased over this period of time by 3.7 million tons in slaughtered weight, that of milk by 11.2 million tons, and that of eggs by 9.3 billion eggs. As a result, the per capita consumption of meat and processed meat in the country as a whole increased by four kg, of milk and dairy products by 34 kg, of vegetable oil by 1.2 kg, and of sugar by 2.4 kg.

Nonetheless, the people are increasingly concerned about the situation in food supply. The slogan "To feed our people" is becoming increasingly relevant. Obviously, the situation in furnishing foodstuffs to the population in many regions remains strained. The growth rates attained are insufficient. The situation is also exacerbated by the fact that in recent years the monetary income of the population has been growing faster than the production of consumer goods. For example, last year the income of the population increased by R64 billion whereas the resources of goods and commercial services in the country as a whole increased by R34 billion.

All of this results in the growth of unsatisfied demand of the populace. In many regions of our country, the sales of meat, animal oil, sugar, and tea are rationed. It is necessary to implement completely and in a timely manner the measures for improving the supply of foodstuffs envisaged by the March plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in order to change the situation for the better. The entire potential of the national economy needs to be tapped in order to implement these measures.

This year is a year of real results, a foundation for all the reforms of the 13th Five-Year Plan. The operation of consumer cooperatives should be considered from this very point of view. In recent years, certain favorable changes in their operation have been secured. Their retail sales in 1989 increased by R4.6 billion, or by nine percent. The volume of procurement of agricultural products grew by eight percent, and the production of consumer goods by 14 percent. The issues of processing agricultural products have begun to be tackled more vigorously. The production of sausage, confectioneries, and soft drinks has been growing at high rates. The cooperative organizations of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], Belorussian SSR, Omsk, Moscow, Belgorod, Voronezh, Tselinograd, Kokchetav, Andizhan, and a number of other oblasts, as well as of Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays, have achieved good results in this sector.

Still, the fact that the participation of the consumer cooperatives in social transformations in rural areas is by far not commensurate with their potential gives rise to legitimate concern. Under the current circumstances, particular, special attention should be paid to increasing the volume of economic operations, pursuing a balanced finance policy, increasing the efficiency of capital investment, asserting new approaches to the development of the procurement and processing complex, and expanding foreign economic operations.

In the environment of the high rates of growth of the monetary income of the populace, there is no more important task than meeting the needs of the population for goods and services. Such work is conducted by the cooperative employees more vigorously than it used to be. An overwhelming majority of consumer unions have been increasing the volume of sales of consumer goods in a stable manner. Nonetheless, the plan of retail sales within the system of the Tsentrosoyuz [Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives] for the four years of the five-year plan was not fulfilled. Meanwhile, reserves for eliminating this lag have been significant and remain so.

The issue of organizing trade services in small and remote localities in rural areas remains as acute as ever. Currently, more than 97,000 villages, or 35 percent of their total number, have no shops; 8,000 kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] do not have public catering facilities; many rural schools do not even have cafeterias. The supply of bread, vegetable oils, and many currently available products to the rural population has not been properly organized. Hence the constant trips of rural toilers to the cities and the waste of time and money.

What is the rural populace particularly concerned about? Their own cooperatives, having endured all reorganizations, are suddenly rushing to the rescue of urban commerce. They are building shops, markets, and warehouses. As a result of such distortions, the volume of cooperative trade is growing at the expense of the rural areas, due to urban sales. Who needs such work?

This situation has largely developed due to the absence in the field of a close alliance of consumer cooperative organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and rural soviets. Only smooth and coordinated operations may ensure that acute and urgent problems of the rural areas are resolved in a timely manner.

The issues of streamlining the organizational structure and developing a chain of consumer cooperative establishments need to be urgently resolved. Thus, currently it is common knowledge that in the years past a serious mistake—the liquidation of rural consumer societies—was allowed to occur. Compared to the pre-war years, their number dropped by 27,000, or by a factor of almost seven. The decline was the greatest in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia. This brought about the distancing of consumer cooperatives from their contributors and the loss of trust in their good deeds. The moral task which the consumer cooperatives are now facing is to regain the trust of the peasants, of the contributors through implementing a set of urgent measures.

Major improvements in the operation of the procurement and processing complex are a key issue. There are 34 million personal farmsteads and 18 million fruit and vegetable gardening plots in our country. In three years, as many of them were given to the population as throughout the entire history of Soviet power. Nonetheless, the procurement of vegetables, fruit, and berries is not increasing. In every region, tens of thousands of tons of these valuable products perish. These same products have to be purchased in Poland and Hungary.

Cooperative purchasing and procurement establishments are open on only 15 to 20 percent of the farms out of 50,000 kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Besides, their facilities are so primitive and their functions are so narrow that for now we cannot refer to them as a reserve of any consequence.

As a result, the consumer cooperatives currently procure from personal farmsteads and fruit and vegetable gardening associations only 40 percent of surplus potatoes and fruit, 55 percent of vegetables and eggs, about five percent of milk, and 70 percent of meat. However, these are averages. If we are going to look at the status of particular consumer unions, the situation in utilizing the resources of farm products in the Georgian, Azeri, Lithuanian, Armenian, Smolensk, Perm, Yaroslavl, Mordovian, and a number of other consumer unions is much worse.

This is why it is extremely important at present to set up comprehensive procurement and processing enterprises in all central villages of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes with a view to making a transition to the self-supply of rayons with foodstuffs on this basis. Favorable experience is already available with regard to this system. In Russia, this includes the Omsk, Krasnodar, Moscow, Leningrad, and Voronezh consumer unions, and in the Ukraine, the Cherkasy and Ternopol consumer unions. The everyday practice of their operation clearly demonstrates that the volume of procurement may be considerably increased within a short period of time if the relationship between the consumer cooperatives and the producers of farm goods is organized in a manner which is new in principle. At the same time, a feedback is provided; services to the rural population are improved; the latter is given an extensive opportunity to purchase processed foodstuffs and use various services.

However, the progress is slow. On the whole, the availability of warehousing facilities in the Tsentrosoyuz amounts to 60 percent, and 219 rayons of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] do not have any such facilities at all.

As is known, the consumer cooperatives are supposed to play a major role in increasing the production and procurement of the products of crop farming and animal husbandry in the individual sector. However, in this instance as well it is alarming that in the last 12 years the production of meat in this sector has not increased; it has been stagnant at a level of 4.7 to 4.9 million tons. The gross harvests of potatoes, vegetables, and melon crops have decreased. Certainly, the cooperatives cannot be faulted for the tragedy of the present-day rural areas. However, the cooperatives have, unfortunately, contributed to the impoverishment of the rural population.

Given the fact that various forms of organizing production are given an equal opportunity, that the Law on Leasing has been adopted, that the laws on land and on property are being worked on, we expect that the individual sector will participate most vigorously in enhancing the volume of production of farm goods. Along with the kolkhozes and complexes, tremendous reserves are found here. This is why the consumer cooperatives should offer timely help to the peasant farmsteads in terms of fodder, small-size mechanical devices, fertilizer, seedlings, foil and packing materials and, assist people in operating their personal farmsteads in a variety of ways, receiving in return the surplus output produced in order to develop its processing, including that within the framework of permanent arrangements. The experience of such mutually advantageous cooperation in three rayons of Ternopol Oblast has been endorsed by the Central Committee of the party. It is necessary to spread it everywhere.

In recent years, an alarming trend has emerged in utilizing the resources of noncultivated products. Compared to the 11th Five-Year Plan, the average state procurement in the current plan alone has declined by almost 18,000 tons of wild fruit and berries, or 25 percent; by 880 tons of mushrooms, or nine percent; by 1,160 tons of honey, or six percent. A similar process was under way in the preceding years. As a result, the consumer cooperatives currently procure 200 grams of wild fruit and berries, 30 grams of mushrooms, and 60 grams of honey per capita a year.

Natural resources of the North, West Siberia, and the Far East are used to a very small degree. Compared to 1970, the number of mushroom-cooking facilities and hunting bases in these areas has declined. Currently, there is one cooperative procurement facility per 350,000 hectares of land, one mushroom-cooking facility per 880,000 hectares, one facility for processing the raw materials procured per 1.17 million hectares, and one hunting base per 500,000 hectares of land. As a result, only 10 to 15 percent of the resources available are used. Meanwhile, all of these products may not only enrich the shops of our country but also become a significant export item. After all, in Pskov they have succeeded in organizing the procurement of forest resources so as to enter foreign markets.

Certainly, procuring the products is just the beginning. The organization of processing industry is an important avenue of cooperative activities. Unfortunately, this is the weakest spot in the consumer cooperatives. All of us should regard as the most significant task the creation in each of the almost 3,000 rural rayons of their own production and foodstuffs complexes which would make it possible to actually implement the self-supply policy of the party. This will allow the inhabitants of rural areas to buy locally fresh bread, baked goods and rolls, gingerbread, cookies, pastry, cakes, confectioneries, ice cream, sausage and smoked meats, fruit and vegetable products, that is, the goods which may and should be produced where they are consumed.

As we see it, the Russian Consumer Union adopted a correct and much-needed resolution at its congress last year having confirmed a program of practical measures for the accelerated development of the processing industries and procurement. Pursuant to their program, the cooperative operators opened last year alone about 2,500 facilities for producing foodstuffs in the central villages of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and over 1,000 of rural cooperative procurement facilities. In this manner, they have clearly shown their potential. You can do work on a great scale when a clear-cut goal is set.

Certainly, in this sphere as well some things are complicated. In the past 20 years, 1,200 slaughterhouses have been built, but almost three times as many have been decommissioned. The Lithuanian, Latvian, and Armenian Consumer Unions have completely failed to fulfill the assignments of the current five-year plan for increasing the meat-processing capacity. The Azeri Consumer Union has commissioned merely one-half of the capacity planned for the five-year period. Work on building slaugterhouses is not organized properly in many cooperative organizations of the Russian Cooperative Union. After all, the situation is entirely abnormal when, say, the Gorkiy Oblast Consumer Union has only 10 slaughterhouses in 47 rayons, and in 1989 not one was commissioned. In the Kirov Oblast Consumer Union, there are 13 facilities in 39 rayons, and likewise not one was commissioned. The slaughterhouses are extremely few, and their construction proceeds poorly in the Ulyanovsk, Lipetsk, Irkutsk, and other consumer unions. They are failing to commission deep-freeze refrigeration facilities in the Kirghiz, Tajik, and Turkmen Consumer Unions, as well as in the entire Central Asian region.

It is no secret that the development of the procurement and processing complex of the consumer cooperatives is hampered by the lack of all kinds of technological equipment. The Tsentrosoyuz has respectable machine-building facilities. At 27 specialized plants, equipment and small-size motorized devices worth R270 million are produced. This accounts for one-half of the overall amount of machinery which enters the system annually. However, the attitude toward this most important issue varies. The Ukrainian Consumer Union which accounts for one-fifth of the cooperative sales in our country is responsible for one-third of the equipment produced within the organization whereas the Georgian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Kazakh, Tajik, Azeri, Armenian, and Turkmen Consumer Unions virtually do not engage in producing equipment.

As all-union conferences held last year by the CPSU Central Committee in Kharkov, Belgorod, and Voronezh indicated, the placement of orders for the processing equipment in short supply at state machine-building enterprises by virtue of direct contracts with consumer unions is a quite efficient mode for saturating the Tsentrosoyuz organization with such equipment. We should take advantage of this opportunity more vigorously.

The Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies instructed the government to prepare a program for the development of the rural areas, primarily by way of solving social problems. The consumer cooperatives must get vigorously involved in implementing the program and pay particular attention to helping rural toilers build their own housing. The farms assume a considerable part of the monetary outlay in this sphere. Under such circumstances, the task of the cooperative organizations is to organize the sale of the required amounts of construction materials, speed up the development of a chain of warehouse-shops for selling them, and set up construction cooperatives more vigorously with a view to rural developers building convenient housing with amenities for themselves quickly and without red tape. Currently, a mere 27-rubles worth of construction material is sold annually per rural resident. What can a peasant build with the supply as it is? Meanwhile, the issues of social upgrading in the rural areas are vital to our entire agrarian policy.

As we can see, there is no end of work which lies ahead for the cooperatives. Many objective difficulties which prevent the organization from developing dynamically are not a secret either. To this day, the consumer cooperatives have not been successful in liberating themselves from the command-administrative methods of managing the system from the top. The organization is experiencing serious financial difficulties which hamper its self-sustained development. In addition to this, the USSR Ministry of Trade has attempted to put a strangle hold on the cooperatives in an effort to make up for its own shortcomings in organizing urban trade at the expense of the rural areas. Apparently, we will have to work for a long time to make over- zealous leaders understand that the exploitation of the rural areas has come to an end. They cannot, do not want to, and will not tolerate arbitrariness any longer.

A group of USSR people's deputies has submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers a package of urgent measures aimed at emancipating the consumer cooperatives. The cooperative organizations expect the government to resolve issues as urgent as revising trade reductions, putting the existing practice of taxation of the consumer cooperative organizations in order, and a number of other issues. A most significant social problem underlies this—paying to the rural areas and the peasantry the debts which have accumulated over many decades. This is why I think that aid to the cooperatives in solving their vital problems at a difficult moment ultimately amounts to helping the rural areas as a whole.

The opinion of the public, promoted in various ways, that supposedly trade, including the consumer cooperatives, is to blame for all current difficulties with the supply of goods, does a disservice to the cause. In critical and pre-crisis situations, they frequently begin "hunting witches" who could be saddled with the blame for all shortcomings in the consumer market. We should destroy this well-established mental stereotype because trade is merely a barometer of the economy. After all, foodstuffs and goods do not grow behind the counter. Only naive people can believe that the market can be saturated by applying total control and shaking up stock rooms.

Being traditionally militant when it comes to the sales and public catering personnel, we frequently ignore their impossibly low salaries and the fact that about 90 percent of the employees of this sector do manual work. Meanwhile, women account for a majority here. It is no accident that the turnover of personnel in this sector is enormous, and the shortage of personnel is permanent.

This is why all of us need to think about supporting the sales personnel both morally and financially proceeding from the ever increasing role of trade in implementing the economic reform. To this end, we should step up our work on training the cadres, introducing new forms of organization and remuneration for labor, switching production and trade over to leasing, implementing family contracts more vigorously, and mastering new technologies and the accomplishments of scientific-technical progress. Of course, we should do everything possible to ensure that honest and vigorous people who are capable of ensuring the restructuring of this most important sector of our economy work in the consumer cooperatives.

Armenian Industries Attempt to Boost Production

PM0202152790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Feb 90 Second Edition p 1

[ARMENPRESS-TASS dispatch: "On the Night Shift System"]

[Text] Yerevan, 1 Feb—Despite the existing legislation, which prohibits mothers of large families from working on the night shift, 30 women at the "Armelektroaparat" production association in Yerevan, including eight mothers of large families, have been made to transfer entirely to night work.

This step is an extreme measure. On the one hand, a severe shortage of electric power in the republic has forced many labor collectives to transfer to operating at night, when the demand on the republic's power system is significantly reduced. On the other hand, the enterprise must make up for lost production. After all, according to last year's figures, the plant failed to supply over 270,000 rubles' [R] worth of output to customers, incurring losses of R1.6 million. And this when cars are standing idle on the tracks containing finished products, worth the same sum, from the enterprise.

This is the result of the blockade on Armenian transport routes for one enterprise alone. As the republic's People's Control Committee reported, 18,927 cars containing vitally important goods have failed to reach Armenia since the beginning of the blockade. The republic has failed to receive over 1 million tonnes of national economic freight.

Today, almost half of the enterprises of the Ministry of Light Industry —an industry that produces construction materials which are so vital for the restoration of the regions that suffered in the earthquake—have transferred to the night shift system. The large power-consuming industries—the Zangezurskiy copper and molybdenum combine, the Kanaker aluminum plant, and the "Armelektromash," "Zakavkazkabel," and other associations, have stopped working almost entirely.

Hundreds of thousands of workers are taking leave from work.

Scientific

Reportage on Progress of Space Flight

Space Motorcycle

LD0502091690 Moscow TASS in English 0837 GMT 5 Feb 90

[By TASS special correspondent Reng Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov, now manning the Mir orbital complex for almost five months stepped out into open space today. The hatch opened at 9 hours 8 minutes Moscow time. This is the fifth exit of members of the current expedition into open space.

The crew will continue testing the cosmonauts' travelling chair, or as they dubbed it "space motorcycle," outside the complex in different regimes. The first test was carried out on February 1.

The "space motorcycle" and the special pressurised suit, fitted out with autonomous means of communication, telemetry and power source, were delivered to the complex by the special supply module Kvant-2 on December 6, 1989. The launching of the module was put off twice. First in April 1989, when the complex was manned by the crew of the fourth principal expedition—Alexander Volkov, Sergei Krikalev and Valery Polyakov. Delays in the construction of the supply module compelled specialists and scientists to revise their initial plans. It was decided to operate the complex without a crew for a few months in order to save money and prepare more thouroughly for a new stage of work on board Mir.

Later the supply module was to be orbited in mid-September of last year. The launching was put off because certain faults were found during ground tests in the Kurs system, intended to ensure the putting of the module on the needed orbit and its closing in with the complex.

The "space motorcycle" is designed primarily for checking systems of different space objects—from Sputniks to Buran reusable spaceships. It allows a cosmonaut to manoeuvre freely and circle the orbital complex, to depart from it and rotate around its own axis.

Fifth Space Walk

LD0502173290 Moscow TASS in English 1654 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—TASS reports from the Flight Control Center.

Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov continue to work onboard the Mir orbital research complex.

Under the flight program they have made their fifth space walk and completed flight-testing the cosmonauts' autonomous movement unit, and the new airlock and egress system of the specialised Kvant-2 module.

The crew left the station at 9 hours 8 minutes Moscow time. Viktorenko's testing program included operating the autonomous movement unit at different regimes, moving to a distance of 45 meters from the orbital complex. The crew commander praised the performance of the unit.

During the space walk the commander measured the radiation background around the station by mounting a portable automatic spectrometr on the front part of the unit. He made several measurements of the spacial and energy characteristics of the X-ray and gamma-radiation at given orientations and at different distances from the orbital complex.

Completing the planned assignment, the crew returned inside the station. They stayed in outer space for 3 hours 45 minutes.

So the crew's assignnment for the fifth major venture outside the complex has been fully performed.

The successful testing of the space suits of the new modification, of the unit for cosmonauts' autonomous movement, and of the new airlock compartment open up broad opportunities in terms of creating and operating manned systems in near-earth orbit for scientific and economic purposes.

New Opportunities

LD0602090990 Moscow TASS in English 0850 GMT 6 Feb 90

[TASS correspondent report from the Space Control Center]

[Text] Moscow February 6 TASS—A successful flight test of the individual transportation vehicle for cosmonauts, which is also called a space launch, has completed the creation of a series of facilities enabling the movement of cosmonauts in outer space. Aside from the space launch, these include the Orlan DMA spacesuit and a communication system ensuring conversations of the cosmonaut with the earth and the orbital complex, as well as operation of the space launch and telemetric control over the state of its equipment.

Flight Commander Aleksandr Viktorenko tested the space launch on Monday. Flight Engineer Aleksandr Serebrov fastened himself at the lock compartment of the Quant-2 module by an anchor and helped him walk out of the orbital station, worked with a winch, loosening the safety rope, and made a video-film.

This time the test programm was more complicated than the first time. Viktorenko, clearly seen on large screens of the mission control center, now turned into a hardly visible point, now approached the lens of the video camera following him that was installed outside the Quant-2 module, manoeuvering on the space launch. He turned in various directions, then upside down, moved to a maximum distance from the orbital station and returned to it, with the head-light on and off, stood still and moved at a top speed, like a true test pilot, he even made a roll, an aerobatics figure.

The space launch was tested in all regimes. A total length of his movements was about 200 meters. The vehicle showed an excellent performance. During the testing of the space launch, Viktorenko measures for the first time in the history of space flights the radiation of the orbital comples in the roentgen and gamma ranges by the Spin-600 spectrometer created at the Leningrad Radium Institute and brought to the orbital station by the Progress M-2 cargo spaceship.

The thing is that space radiation activates materials of which the orbital station is made. The hull of the station becomes a radiation source itself. It is important for scientists to know how this secondary radiation influences the radiation situation inside compartments and near the orbital complex. The new spectrometer is a compromise between the geiger counter and the Astron roentgen observatory working now on a strongly extended near-earth orbit.

The data of the experiment for measuring radiation both inside and outside the orbital complex will be used for future designing of spacecraft. Now their designers will know what materials are safer from the point of view of their radiation background for sensitive astrophysical instruments and photo equipment. The experiment data will give a better idea of how to ensure radiation safety of the orbital complex crew, especially during powerful solar eruptions. It would have been impossible to make radiation measurements without the space launch. They were made at various distances, the maximum one being 45 meters.

Designers believe that in the future orbital stations will need several radio-controlled space launches. A cosmonaut will be able to operate them all without leaving the station. Six or seven technological robots installed at space launches will be capable of assembling large orbital structures, like solar sails of solar energy reflectors.

Technical Potential

LD0502224590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 5 February broadcasts as part of its "Vremya" newscast a two-and-one-half-minute video report by correspondent S. Slipchenko—identified by screen caption—on the day's space walk by Cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov.

Slipchenko says that the just-ended successful testing of a cosmonaut transportation vehicle demonstrates how great is the scientific and technical potential in the USSR despite a background of shortages. The present feats in space mean that large structures and power installations will be assembled in orbit in the near future.

Slipchenko notes that accomplishments in space could help the national economy on the ground, but deplores the fact that while there are splendid satellites in existence and at work in the country as a whole, there were only two works for the production of telephones. He stresses the need for good organization of the USSR's assets by those in responsible posts.

Inside the Flight Control Center Slipchenko asks V.N. Branets, deputy leader of the "Mir" complex flight and doctor of physiomathematical sciences—identified by screen caption—to explain to him and to the viewers why it is that the USSR can get excellent pictures from space, yet there are hundreds of populated areas in the USSR where there are no telephone systems. He contrasts this situation with that in Europe, Japan, and other countries, where one can telephone any part of the planet from a train, a car, an airplane, or a pay phone. Branets replies that while there are no technical obstacles to attaining such things in the USSR, in his view what is required at the moment is the resolution of far simple matters, such as providing every family with a telephone. When this is done, the USSR can move on to solving more complex matters.

V.G. Kravets, doctor of technical sciences and leader of the Buran flight—identified by screen caption—ends the report by saying that "space means" make it possible to solve this lagging behind in the supply of telephones to the country and to provide dozens of direct television channels, making it possible to live in a far cheaper fashion. Such things are expensive, he says, but they are far more expensive to organize on the ground.

The video portion of the excerpt shows the cosmonauts' last space walk, with the cosmonaut transportation vehicle in use, attached to the "Mir" station by a cable; views of the main hall at the Flight Control Center, with staff monitoring the progress of the space walk.

Scientists Note Changes on Jupiter

LD0602093290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1256 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Alma-Ata, 5 Feb (TASS)—Soviet Kazakhstan scientists have noted changes on the planet Jupiter. They have established that its southern equatorial cloud belt has almost completely disappeared in recent months. The form of the large red spot on the giant planet has also altered, it now appears to be a completely isolated formation against a background of faint and very narrow dark nebulae. Usually this giant vortex in Jupiter's atmosphere "cut into" the southern nebula with its edge.

Scientists note that these changes coincide with a period of maximum solar activity. This phenomenon is of particular interest to science because it once more testifies to the connection between the atmospheric processes on planets and the behavior of the sun.

The data was obtained with the aid of the telescopes of two astrophysical observatories situated in the northern spurs of the Tienshan mountains.

Military

Marshal Akhromeyev on Troop Withdrawal Proposal

PM0502144890 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 4-5 Feb 90 p 11

[Interview with Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev by Ezio Mauro; date, place not given]

[Text] Moscow—The Red Army is prepared to withdraw, following Bush's proposal for a reduction of both superpowers' conventional forces to 195,000 men in central Europe. This approval came from Sergey Akhromeyev, marshal of the USSR, military adviser to Mikhail Gorbachev, and former chief of defense staff.

Moscow's first official comment on Bush's proposal was cautious and included a request for elucidations from the White House. Again yesterday PRAVDA suspended judgment on the proposal, without, however, concealing its critical opinion of the context in which the American President presented his initiative: "The proposal was made not altruistically, but in response to the general criticism assailing Bush on account of his slow response to the current changes in Europe, and also under pressure from Congress and the European allies themselves." The Soviet military, however, now seems more favorably disposed to realpolitik than PRAVDA does. "In my opinion," Akhromeyev said before answering LA

REPUBBLICA's questions, "the reasons that prompted Bush to make these statements are not as important as the statements themselves."

[Mauro] Marshal, what was the Soviet military leadership's response to President Bush's proposal?

[Akhromeyev] We officially received the message from the White House only two days ago. Well, it takes time to ponder properly, but I believe that even now, after an initial reading, we can say that Bush's proposal is a serious one, and for that very reason deserves a serious and thorough analysis. I believe I can say that all the conditions exist for this proposal to be examined positively or, let us say, responsibly—taking account not only of the USSR's specific interests, but also of the more general interests of all the European countries.

[Mauro] Meanwhile all the countries of the East—following the political earthquake that changed the faces of their regimes—are pressing Moscow for a withdrawal of Soviet troops from their territories. What is the Soviet strategy in this regard?

[Akhromeyev] For the present, negotiations are under way. I believe that they will conclude with accords, and the Armed Forces will act in accordance with those accords. But these negotiations must not be confused with the Bush proposal: They are two different things.

[Mauro] But the result that is taking shape is the same—namely, the reduction of the USSR's military role. What are the present political and psychological repercussions of this reduction on the Red Army?

[Akhromeyev] Both I and my colleagues are sons of our people, so we respect, and will continue to respect, the Soviet Government's decisions. If these accords are approved, the Red Army will simply start to withdraw its troops.

[Mauro] Meanwhile the Kremlin has sent the Army to Baku to restore law and order. How do you judge this military intervention?

[Akhromeyev] As a correct and indispensable decision. It was necessary to do this for the sake of all the Soviet peoples.

Ryzhkov, Presidium on Abortive T-72 Sale

90UM0274A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 1 Feb 90 p 2

[TASS report: "In the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] As has been reported in the press, law-enforcement agencies stopped an attempt to illegally export 12 T-72 tanks with their regular complement of weapons. The main character in the unsuccessful operation was the now former interdepartmental state-cooperative concern "ANT."

The circumstances associated with the participation in this affair by a number of officials were examined at a meeting of the USSR Council of Ministers, which was held on 29 January under the chairmanship of N.I. Ryzhkov.

The "ANT" concern was established for purposes which, at the current stage of development of our society, are given unquestionable priority. With its participation, it was intended to energize efforts and to expand capabilities for saturating the consumer market with commodities in high demand, including taking advantage of certain privileges and conducting barter operations; to develop scientific research, and to introduce its own developments in ecology, chemistry, aviation, and electronics. Of course, the activities of the concern were to be conducted strictly within the scope of the law.

However, as practice showed, the concern took the path of illegal actions and deception of the government. The aforementioned deal in the tank sale is evidence of this.

How indeed did the situation arise that tanks, for the first time in the history of our defense industry, were transported outside the gates of the military plant to an unknown destination? The first and decisive step in assuring concealment of this illegal operation was taken by V.K. Dovgan, general director of the scientific production association [NPO] of the USSR Ministry of the Radio Industry [Minradioprom], who gave direct assistance in the acquisition of tanks by the concern, expecting to receive part of the profits from the transaction for the NPO. V.S. Seryakov, general director of the defense plant, approached the question on the tank sale absolutely irresponsibly. Appropriate measures were also not taken by senior officials of the USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry.

Officials of the USSR Ministry of Aviation Industry displayed an intolerable lack of principles. Even before the establishment of the concern, whose founders were the USSR Ministry of Aviation Industry [Minaviaprom] and the industrial state cooperative association "ANT," the Ministry granted "ANT" the right to conduct export-import operations in its behalf, thereby replacing this Ministry's foreign economic association "Aviaeksport."

Intolerable negligence was also displayed by some officials of the USSR Ministry of Defense [Minoborony], which did not prevent the transport of the tanks out of the plant and their shipment by rail to Novorossiysk.

All of this makes it possible to come to the conclusion that a lowering in state and executive discipline and irresponsibility and laxity had an effect on a number of organizations and enterprises of the country's defense complex.

It was observed at the meeting that unconscientious persons from the "ANT" concern, in violating existing procedures, took advantage of instructions for commercial transactions in military equipment that grant the concern a number of privileges in buying products cheap and selling dear. These instructions, according to representations by senior officials of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, were signed by V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. In addition, under the guise of production rejects and secondary raw materials; sheet metal, bronze, lead, stainless steel, fertilizers, and nonferrous metal articles, all of which are in short supply, and other commodities, were accumulated for sale abroad.

The Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers recognized that the illegal activity of the "ANT" concern, which grossly violated the procedures established in the country for acquiring military property and raw materials in short supply for the purpose of export sales, became possible as a result of the fact that a number of officials of the USSR Ministry of Aviation Industry, USSR Ministry of the Radio Industry, and USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry [Minoboronprom] performed their direct official duties irresponsibly, and that some of them abused their rights. Individual workers of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers did not ensure control over the activity of the "ANT" concern, and in doing this displayed political shortsightedness, which made it possible for the concern to take the path of illegal actions.

The Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers assessed this incident as unprecedented and in direct contradiction to the fundamental principles of the foreign economic policy of the USSR, and it noted that the persons guilty of this, regardless of their official positions, must be held strictly answerable.

For gross violations of existing legislation concerning the export of arms and military equipment and the approval of the illegal charter of the "ANT," which was the basis for the illegal operations of the concern, A.G. Bratukhin, first deputy minister of aviation industry, is discharged from the post he occupies.

For permitting illegal actions in questions concerning the sale of military equipment and arms, the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers considered it impossible in the future to employ V.K. Dovgan, general director of the NPO "Vzlet," in managerial work, and it discharged him from the post he was occupying.

It was noted that, for serious violations of the established procedure for the sale of tanks dispatched from the defense plant, V.S. Seryakov, general director of the industrial association "Uralvagonzavod" of the USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry, deserves discharge from the post he holds. However, owing to the fact that after being appointed to the position of general director he only worked several months, he was given a severe reprimand.

For lack of the necessary control in the area of foreign economic activity of the branch, which led to an illegal approval by the USSR Ministry of Aviation Industry of the "ANT" concern charter, and which created the conditions for the illegal operations of this concern, USSR Minister of the Aviation Industry A.S. Systsov was given a severe reprimand.

For relaxing control over the foreign economic activity of subordinate enterprises and organizations, USSR Minister of the Defense Industry B.M. Belousov and USSR Minister of the Radio Industry V.I. Shimko were reprimanded. M.A. Zakharov, deputy minister of the defense industry, was severely reprimanded for not taking steps to prevent the illegal dispatch of tanks from the plant.

For displayed negligence and nonfulfillment of instructions of the Government of the USSR on exercising control over the activity of the concern "ANT," Yu.A. Peshkev, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, was severely reprimanded, and V.S. Grinev, the first deputy supervisor of a department of this commission, who was directly responsible for this control, was discharged from the position he held.

Punishment was also imposed on other officials who to one or another extent participated in the illegal activity of the "ANT" concern.

Speaking during a summary of the findings on the question, N.I. Ryzhkov said that the illegal actions of the concern "ANT," and also of officials who transgressed state discipline and legality, inflicted not only economic damage, but also moral-political damage on the country, the national economy, and a number of labor collectives. This should serve as a serious lesson for everyone, especially for organs of state administration. It was noted that the examination at the meeting of the facts of serious violations of existing rules of foreign economic activity also makes it possible to come to a general conclusion on the necessity for all-around strengthening of state discipline in this sphere and the proper utilization of instruments of regulation and control, including licensing, quantitative regulations, and permissible procedures for barter transactions, etc.

As for the sale of arms and military equipment abroad, even nonsecret, this can be accomplished only with the permission of the government. This procedure, as it is now, is obligatory for all enterprises and organizations without exception.

The pertinent state organs are instructed to implement a system of measures to preclude ways of taking advantage of foreign economic ties to the detriment of general state interests, improvement in the national economy, and normalization of the consumer market.

The Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers took into consideration the information of USSR Procurator General A.Ya. Sukharev that the office of the USSR Procurator General is conducting a thorough on-site investigation into the facts of the illegal activity of the concern "ANT" and its organizations.

True Aims of 'Shchit' Union Questioned

PM0502110590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jan 90 First Edition p 2

[Special correspondent Major Yu. Mamchur article: "The 'Shchit' Union: Words and Deeds"]

[Text] Long and tense telephone conversations had preceded my brief meeting with V. Urazhtsev, one of three cochairmen of the Union for the Social Protection of Servicemen and Reservists [SSZVV]—this public organization is better known by the name of "Shchit." On 31 December 1988 Vitaliy Georgiyevich, who once contributed actively to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, found himself the hero of the article "Strung Along by a Demagogue" and now regards our newspaper with a fair degree of hostility.

The constituent congress of the SSZVV was held last October. Taking its cue from Vitaliy Georgiyevich—essentially "Shchit's" "chief ideologue"—it presented itself as "the first informal congress of servicemen in the 72 years of Soviet power" and "Shchit" as the true defender of the interests of the person in uniform, independent of departmental diktat. This attracted the attention of the Soviet and foreign mass media. A number of central publications, to use the expression of one youth newspaper, carried "detailed, benevolent articles" on the congress. And KRASNAYA ZVEZDA alone stayed silent....

Alas, the author of these lines heard, saw, and read at the congress much that remained outside the gambit of the aforesaid reports. But I deemed it out of order to publish my assessments merely on the basis of a two-day debate among several dozen people, the majority of whom had quit the ranks of the Armed Forces for one reason or another, and, to put it bluntly, on the basis of confused drafts of "program documents." All the more so as the congress organizers earnestly requested that no reference be made to the documents before the adopted amendments were incorporated.

But enough time has now elapsed since the congress for words to begin to be turned into actions, and Vitaliy Georgiyevich has personally delivered up the final version of the basic documents...

In the "Program Principles" of the social protection union just one of the six points setting forth "Shchit's" aims has a direct bearing on social protection. The rest proclaim the following: "the broad dissemination of its ideas, views, and opinions; the activation and democratization of social awareness in the USSR Armed Forces and the development of glasnost; the creation of primary organizations... in units, regions, and republics with a network communications structure and a concentration of information at the center; to seek the adoption of a USSR law on the nonuse of military force against one's own people and the peoples of other countries; the shaping of conditions for building a new type of army—the army of a rule-of-law socialist state."

The activation of social awareness is fine, and military force should, of course, be avoided at all costs. But some members of the organization were in a quandary even then, at the congress: How did all these network structures and concentrations tie in with the slogan which, figuratively speaking, is inscribed on "Shchit" [the shield]?

"Real concern, not in words but in deeds, for servicemen" is relegated far into the background, in the next section setting forth "urgent measures to change the performance of military service." The most urgent task, according to the document, is to "make a radical reduction in the number of generals and managerial structures of the Ministry of Defense; to significantly limit the functions of and then totally abolish the political organs at the divisional and army level, to eliminate the institution of company political workers..."

Political organs and political workers fell into particular disfavor at the congress. In the opinion of Lieutenant Colonel S. Terekhov (he and several other servicemen had come to the congress out of a desire to form their own impression of "Shchit"), there was just one reason for this: a desire to replace the CPSU's influence among the troops with some other... party influence. Rather, with its own. In other words, a virtually undisguised struggle for control over the Armed Forces is developing under the flag of social protection.

Speaking from the congress rostrum, USSR People's Deputy Colonel N. Petrushenko pointed out that many aspects of its work were disconcerting. Is not the critical mass of "Shchit" which will determine its countenance and line going to aggrieve some people? The deputy also had doubts about the authority of the congress delegates. Who elected them? Whom do they represent?

According to V. Urazhtsev, the 96 union members attending from four republics, 36 cities, and nine primary organizations constituted one-fourth of the total strength of "Shchit" (today, according to the same source, 23 primary organizations in 63 cities and eight republics unite approximately 600 members). However, these data have to be taken on trust. This is also because provision is made for secret membership of "Shchit" for "active servicemen." This is supposedly to avoid reprisals against the latter by the command. One can only conjecture how the "illegals" will struggle for social protection and whether they will do so...

The majority of the delegates supported "Shchit's" present leaders. However, the number of skeptics had plainly increased as the end of the congress approached. Criticisms were leveled increasingly frequently at the organizers, particularly V. Urazhtsev.

"I am for the union, for social protection," Major V. Savchuk, one of the "Afghans," declared. "But I do not believe you, Vitaliy Georgiyevich..."

And Senior Lieutenant R. Berzinsh, reserve, who had already turned, in vain, to "Shchit" for help, declared without beating around the bush: "Vitaliy Georgiyevich has created an organization obedient to himself. Urazhtsev's ambitious aspirations require him to be removed from authoritarian power. We do not need a Fuehrer..."

Even though they did not stand on ceremony with such opponents there—calling them "provocateur," "decoy duck," or "fifth column"—account was taken of the criticism. Three cochairmen—reserve officers V. Urazhtsev, M. Timokhov, and N. Krayushenko—took their places at the head of the union. Hero of the Soviet Union Lieutenant General M. Shaposhnikov, retired, became honorary chairman. He is renowned for the fact that in 1962, while he was deputy commander of the North Caucasus Military District, he tried to prevent the use of arms against demonstrators in Novocherkassk. The coordinating and control committees were elected. Nevertheless, many "Shchit" supporters were perturbed: What had they founded? And was the concept of "social protection" not being interpreted too broadly?

The "chief ideologue" gave a direct answer to a direct question: Since social questions are closely linked with politics, it cannot be ruled out that the union will be "transformed" in the future into an independent political party. Its aims have not yet been formulated and are not specific...

That was where we parted in October.

Just over two months later I began my conversation with Vitaliy Georgiyevich with a question which had greatly irritated him at the briefing after the congress. How, specifically, nonetheless, does "Shchit" intend to protect and does it protect servicemen and reservists? This time Vitaliy Georgiyevich did have something to say: He came up with detailed information. According to this, legal advice has been given to a considerable number of servicemen and members of their families. Some R100 was allocated to a soldier's wife—much had been said about that action even from the congress rostrum. Two color television sets handed over to "Shchit" for philanthropic purposes by the "Nadezhda" Order of Charity and Social Protection and two wheelchairs have been distributed. Assistance has been given to widow Ye. Bonner [Andrey Sakharov's widow]... Being drawn up are... a new initial military training course in schools and laws on alternative service, on defense, and on the status of servicemen. Three unarmed combat sections have been opened to swell the union's funds. In the future there will be a friendship club and a service to help servicemen rent housing ("you pay R10—we find an apartment"). Many "organizational measures" have been held: meetings with people's deputies, rallies...

Vitaliy Georgiyevich informed me particularly significantly of the creation of the "Trade Union of Workers and Employees in Military Organizations and Establishments." The trouble here is the clever title. As is known, there is no provision for servicemen to participate in trade unions, but servicemen are also understood by the words "workers" and "employees." The newly fledged trade union is headed by the selfsame Urazhtsev. This time without any cochairmen. It allegedly has 31 members. A bank account has been opened. This appeal has already appeared in certain publications: Support the "independent democratic union" with money transfers...

"Advertising is necessary," M. Filatkin, member of the coordinating committee, explained. Why? The answer was simple: elections...

"We are taking a very active part in them," Vitaliy Georgiyevich said. "More than 35 'Shchit' members have been nominated as candidate people's deputies. Fifteen of them, including myself and another cochairman of the union—Senior Lieutenant N. Krayushenko, reserve—as candidate people's deputies of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and eight people for the Moscow City Soviet...

"People blacken us all the time and say that Urazhtsev and his colleagues want to seize power," Vitaliy Georgiyevich continued resentfully. Suddenly his voice grew stronger. "Yes, we do want to attain power! But by legitimate means, within the framework of the Constitution, without a military coup or any deformations in our society: The Romanian version does not suit us. We want to travel the path of parliamentary struggle for seats in rayon, city, republic, and, finally, union structures!"

Urazhtsev also developed the thesis of the "Program Principles" concerning political organs.

"Mindful of the fact that the Army today is a rudimentary party, we advocate that the Armed Forces should be outside politics and that educational organizations should be created instead of party organizations and political organs. I don't know—chaplains, priests..."

I will hardly be mistaken if I assume that Vitaliy Georgiyevich allocates to himself and his colleagues not the least role in the hypothetical "educational organizations." Then the voters will not hear Berzinsh's appeal—"We do not need a fuehrer!"—and Urazhtsev will be raised aloft by his comrades, while those who dared to call Vitaliy Georgiyevich a demagogue at the time when he, not yet discharged from the Army or expelled from the party, was straining to secure "by democratic means" the post of... chief of the political department of a military school, will in actual fact, to use his expression, have to put on sackcloth with ashes...

"We won't shoot them," my interlocutor consoled me. "I oppose the death penalty in principle..."

I have talked with many "Shchit" members. By no means all share the ambitious aspirations of their "ideologue." Moreover, some simply do not know of them. Very different motives caused them to gather beneath "Shchit's" signboard. Some were ready to serve the noble cause of championing servicemen's rights and sincerely believed that the SSZVV is really aimed at social protection. Others—as a rule, people discharged from the Army at a prepension age—wished to take at least imaginary revenge. Yet others had an irrepressible craving for public activity...

The young soldiers' wives Olya Frolova and Natasha Cherednichenko came to the union out of an understandable and touching desire to ensure that, if not their husbands, then at some time other married soldiers and seamen serve less time and closer to home. Captain 3d Rank M. Filatkin, reserve, is convinced that he was discharged from the Army unjustly and he hopes to find it, the truth, in "Shchit."

"And so? We are fighting even in the Central Committee's Party Control Committee for certain members of our coordinating committee," Urazhtsev said. "Worthy, honest people..."

At the Party Control Committee I familiarized myself with the personal files of "worthy" representatives of the "Shchit" union's leadership. Hundreds of pages. Very detailed reports by numerous commissions. A certain B. incurred a party penalty for a drunken brawl which only a militia detail could stop. M. was charged with, to put it mildly, "unethical conduct toward a female department staffer..." We will not name these former servicemen and others like them—they have wives and children.

Of course, not everyone in the union is like them. But how could I fail to recall the "chief ideologue's" statement: "'Shchit' has absorbed everything that is most intelligent and decent," and its paramount task is to "make the Army a forward link of society..."

The reader would be right to rebuke the author with having long since strayed from the chief topic—the social protection of servicemen. But no, it is constantly out of shot [za kadrom]. Alas, with all its imperfection. And this, it has to be admitted, enabled V. Urazhtsev and his immediate entourage to make a gamble which could not fail—on human pain, on long-standing grudges and the craving for justice, and, finally, on our age-old hope for a kind uncle. This is confirmed by a letter from Major V. Bliznyukov, reserve, not the only one of its kind in the editor's mail about "Shchit's" activity. I will cite it practically in full.

"Allow me, through your newspaper, to address all readers and, above all, officers and ensigns whose social interests were infringed while serving in the Armed Forces... I consider that I too belong to this category. My military rank is that of major, I am 39 years old, I served 22 years, and I was discharged unlawfully. I have been fighting for reinstatement for seven months now. But this is not the issue now. On watching the program 'I Serve the Soviet Union!' (which dealt with "Shchit"—author's note), I took heart. Well, I thought, here are people who will help, advise, and suggest at least in some way. On 8 January I visited this society...

"A young man received me. The conversation began with a warning: 'You have to pay for our advice.' So be it, I will pay, although I at once felt a kind of resentment in my soul. I brought out my documents, although I realized from his outward appearance and manner that I was not dealing here with an officer, not even a former one. He gave several papers a cursory once-over, without reading a single one to the end, and then he spoke. You must apply, he said, to the USSR Supreme Soviet through a people's deputy, and let his request be checked by... the military prosecutor's office organs. Whereupon the audience was ended. The young man entered my name on some list, and I handed over R5 and left. Out of vexation I have even lost my composure.. And these people have taken on the social protection of officers? What do they know of our life? I had hoped that in a relaxed conversation with me they would show an interest in the general atmosphere of service in a remote garrison, relations with senior chiefs, sociocultural and domestic affairs, housing conditions, and so forth. But I was profoundly mistaken in my dreams and reveries! They took an interest in my place of service only when filling out the list of payments...

"My indignation knows no bounds!...

"I am sending my documents to the editorial board. If you deem it necessary to investigate and to help me, I will be very grateful, but if not I won't blame you. But please publish my letter... Maj V. Bliznyukov, reserve."

We will undoubtedly investigate.

The writer's surge of emotion is understandable. Still I believe that, even with all that has been said, the emergence of the social protection union once again makes us think seriously about something.

It is known that, in addition to the state organs designed to stand guard over the interests of servicemen, reservists, and members of their families, there exist numerous public institutions—examination and housing commissions, veterans' and women's councils, people's control committees, officers' assemblies... That is, there would appear to be people to protect military people in the social sphere. Nevertheless, there are many problems here. It is probably necessary to sharply galvanize the activities of existing structures, and it is probably necessary to seek something new, but it is an obvious fact, to my mind, that "Shchit" is merely speculating with the slogan of social protection.

Last Saturday another rally, by no means well attended, was held in Moscow with V. Urazhtsev in the leading role. In addition to "Shchit," representatives of certain other informal associations participated in the rally. The speakers' main demands boiled down to the immediate withdrawal of Soviet Army units from the Transcaucasus. Vitaliy Georgiyevich urged the gathering to help refugees from Azerbaijan. At the end of his speech he frenziedly trampled on Saturday's issue of PRAVDA, which described the help given to refugees in military garrisons and which, at the same time, expressed bewilderment at the lack of help from various public funds and organizations, including "Shchit," which proclaims itself the protector of servicemen and members of their families. Urazhtsev was indignant: This is untrue. But I could not believe my ears—literally the previous day the union's "ideologue" had declared in a telephone conversation that "Shchit" is essentially not in a position to help refugees, as the bulk of its meager funds goes on propaganda.

Several times Urazhtsev intimidated the gathering with the "20,000-strong" militia detachment allegedly lined up to disperse the rally.

However, it was not conflict-free. When one of the people present tried to dispute Urazhtsev, Vitaliy Grigoryevich was on the point of knocking the "provocateur" from the improvised rostrum. He failed, but the "chief ideologue's" assistants at once rushed up and dragged away the person who was longing to speak. The voice of the thwarted opponent was drowned in an indignant roar from the gathering.: "I'm an officer, an officer!..."

Military Transport Plane Crashes in Lithuania

LD0202122190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1125 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Panevezhis (Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic) [dateline as received]—An Il-76 military transport aircraft has crashed here.

It happened during a training flight to work out instrument-landing approaches in complicated meteorological conditions. In its first approach the Il-76 broke through the lower edge of the clouds precisely in line with the landing strip and, having flown over it, circled again, gaining height. But in the next minute it tumbled out of the clouds and fell into a wood near the town. Eight crew members died. There were no civilian casualities or damage to facilities as a result of the accident.

A special commission has been appointed to investigate the causes of the accident.

Conference of Military Tribunal Chairmen Held

PM0502182790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Feb 90 First Edition p 2

[Unidentified correspondent report: "With A View to Cooperation"]

[Text] A conference of chairmen of the military tribunals of okrugs, groups of forces, and fleets has been held.

The reports by Lieutenant General of Justice A. Muranov, chief of the Military Tribunals Directorate, and Lieutenant General of Justice N. Petukhov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court's Military Collegium, and the speeches by the conference participants analyzed the features of military tribunals' work under the conditions of the exacerbation of the sociopolitical situation in the country.

During the exchange of opinions that was held, fundamental positions were elaborated on cooperating with command and political organs in order to ensure a high level of combat readiness on the part of troops and naval forces, to strengthen military discipline and law and order, and to achieve reliable social and legal protection for servicemen.

Taking part in the conference were Army General K. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister; Lieutenant General N. Shlyaga, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Lieutenant General of Justice A. Katusev, chief military prosecutor; and senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat, the KGB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the USSR Supreme Court.

All-Union Education Seminar Opens

PM0502150390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Feb 90 First Edition p1

[Own correspondent report: "All-Union Seminar"]

[Text] The three-day all-union seminar which began today at the M.V. Frunze Soviet Army Central House is dedicated to discussing topical problems connected with the Soviet people's patriotic and international education during preparations for the 45th anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic War. The following are taking part: activists from the All-Union "Znaniye" Society; representatives of political bodies in branches of the Armed Forces, military districts, and fleets; lecturers; renowned veterans of the Great Patriotic War; and members of the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Air Force, and Navy, the USSR Civil Defense, and social organizations.

A report "On Progress in Restructuring Party Political Work in the Armed Forces and Topical Problems of Patriotic and International Education" was delivered by Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. The audience was then addressed by V. Mironenko, first secretary of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League Central Committee, and V. Grushko, deputy chairman of the KGB.

At the end of the first day of work by the seminar, a "roundtable" session was held with the participation of leading scientists from the USSR Defense Ministry Military History Institute and the USSR Academy of Sciences General History Institute.